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A History of
The Historical Society of
Pennsylvania

VOLUME ONE



The Present Home of the Society
Built on the site of General Patterson's mansion, and dedicated in 1909

A History of The Historical Society of Pennsylvania

Volume One

BY
HAMPTON L. CARSON

Late President of the Society



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SPECIAL CENTENNIAL PUBLICATION FUND

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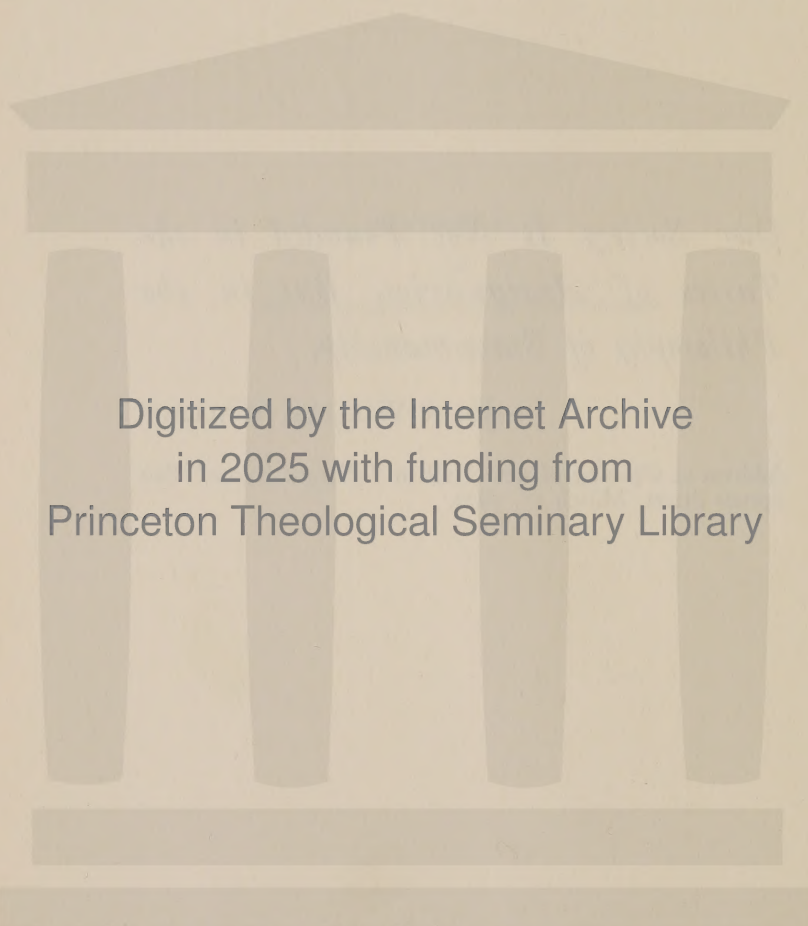
BY

THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PENNSYLVANIA

*Our Society Is Not Founded in the
Tastes of Antiquaries, But in the
Philosophy of Statesmanship.*

—JOHN WILLIAM WALLACE

Address at Opening of new Hall in "Picture House," 820
Spruce Street, March 11, 1872.



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Editorial Note

MR. CARSON commenced the writing of this History at the time of the Centennial Celebration of the Society in 1924, and when he died on July 18, 1929, he had delivered to the Librarian the manuscript of the preface, table of contents, introductory view, and thirty chapters to complete volume one, and table of contents, introduction to chapter one, and twenty-one chapters of volume two. Each chapter was in typescript, bound separately in a "blue back" and each bore in his handwriting the endorsement "Final Copy—approved for printer. H. L. C." The last chapter upon which he was working at the time of his death is incomplete, for Mr. Carson had remarked a few days before he died that he had about twenty pages yet to write. That these were to be a summary and a peroration is reasonably certain. What Mr. Carson did write was not edited by him and appears at the close of volume two.

Although it was unexpressed in words, he realized full well that his life was ending and his last working days were devoted to the History, which above all things he was most anxious to finish. His final business letter dictated within forty-eight hours of his death dealt with the History.

Except to add Dr. Lingelbach's Introduction, a few explanatory notes and an index to both volumes, nothing has been added and nothing subtracted from the manuscript as Mr. Carson wrote it. Typographical and other slight errors revealed after a careful check up have alone been corrected. While he had made no final selection of illustrations, those used fully represent his desires.

While the volumes bear the imprint of the year 1940 the reader must bear in mind throughout that nothing was written after July, 1929, and must make the proper allowances for the point of view revealed by Mr. Carson.

JOSEPH CARSON

The Honorable Hampton L. Carson (1852-1929)
and
The Historical Society of Pennsylvania

THE historical societies of our country play a unique rôle in the history of our national life, for they reflect much more than the efforts to preserve and interpret the private records of the communities they serve.* They reveal, as nothing else does, the story of our local history, especially its intellectual and cultural life, and their activities are therefore of peculiar interest to all persons interested in social history. That this is especially true of the history of The Historical Society of Pennsylvania is largely due to the important place of Philadelphia in our national history, both in colonial days and later during the early decades under the Constitution.

The foremost city of the country in those years in government, industry and commerce, Philadelphia was also for a time pre-eminent in the realms of science, medicine, literature and art. Unusually rich agricultural and mining communities were tributary to it, while its life stream was enriched by a variety of racial and ethnic elements to be found prior to the nineteenth century in no other state. In the wake of the Swedes, Dutch and English came the Germans, Scots-Irish and, in later years, large numbers of south and east Europeans to add their contribution to the saga of the lower Delaware. Thus what had been in the eighteenth century the heart of the fighting area of the Revolutionary War and of our constitutional history gradually became the metropolis of a pioneering industrial and mining region, making it the high pressure area of our national protective policy on the one hand, and the home of labor and social problems on the other. These changes in the economic life of the region were accompanied by equally

* Cf. *The American Historical Review*, XL (October, 1934), 10-37 for an able and suggestive article on state and local historical societies by Julian P. Boyd.

radical inroads in the daily life of the people, in their social customs or *mores*, which like the courts of law, educational and religious institutions underwent progressive modifications under the impact of new forces. The cultural history of this regional civilization is correspondingly rich and varied, and it is fortunate that so many of the sources and records for the story have been preserved in the archives of The Historical Society, whose history is here told by a well-known author and scholar who was also its honored President.

The Honorable Hampton L. Carson, one of the Society's most scholarly and distinguished officers, was intimately associated with its membership and policies for years. Earnestly devoted to its interests, he gave much time and study to its records, to which as President he always had free access. Furthermore, although a lawyer and not an historian by profession, he was an historian by avocation. His approach to the study of the law was always historical, as is shown by his numerous publications in the field of legal history. Naturally, too, his constant association with the law gave his historical interest a bent toward legal and institutional history. He gave much thought and study to the history and development of the English common law, its rebirth, growth and extension in the colonies, and its culmination in the establishment of the Supreme Court of the United States. On these and kindred questions he wrote and spoke with authority and charm, the catholicity of his interests and knowledge saving him from too narrow specialization. Because of his recognized ability as an orator he was much in demand as a public speaker and his addresses on such occasions were always noteworthy. He belonged to that fine group of gentlemen scholars whose interest and constructive achievements in the humanities gave such distinction to Philadelphia in the first two decades of the present century.

Mr. Carson was born on February 21, 1852. He was descended from distinguished colonial ancestry. Joseph Carson, his first American ancestor on his father's side, came to Philadelphia in the middle of the eighteenth century, and soon interested himself in the political life of the day. He became an active supporter of the Non-Importation Resolutions of

1765. His mother was the granddaughter of Levi Hollingsworth (1729-1824), a man of energy and enterprise, who was descended from Penn's friend and deputy surveyor, Henry Hollingsworth, associated with Thomas Holme in the laying out of the city of Philadelphia. Through successive generations the family continued to contribute its part to the life of the city and the nation, a tradition which the author of these volumes keenly appreciated as a matter of *noblesse oblige*.

He attended John Faires' private school and, at the age of fifteen, matriculated at the University of Pennsylvania where his father, Dr. Joseph Carson, was then Professor of Materia Medica and Pharmacy. In 1867 he entered the College of Liberal Arts, graduating after four years with honors in English and declamation. The next three years he studied law at the University of Pennsylvania Law School receiving both the Bachelor of Laws and the Master of Arts degrees in 1874. In 1875 he became an editor of *The Legal Gazette*, and one of a small group to found *The Weekly Notes of Cases*. He was admitted to the Philadelphia bar in the year he graduated from the Law School and at the age of twenty-two began the practice of the law, in which he became a recognized leader and authority, combining with it many private and important civic activities.

From 1894 to 1901 he was professor of law at the University of Pennsylvania Law School, till the pressure of his legal practice forced his resignation. Two years later he was appointed Attorney General of the State, a position he filled with real distinction till 1907. He was Chancellor of the Law Association of Philadelphia from 1912 to 1914; president of the Pennsylvania Bar Association from 1913 to 1914; and president of the American Bar Association from 1919 to 1921. In 1920 he served as a member of the Commission to revise the Constitution of the Commonwealth, but the proposed revision was never ratified by the electorate.

During all these very active and busy years he found leisure for study, collecting and writing. As Attorney General, he wrote more than five hundred opinions and his arguments before the Supreme Court of the United States alone fill several volumes. To these and other purely professional works

like *The Law of Criminal Conspiracies and Agreements as Found in the American Cases* (1887), long the standard work on the subject, he added many others, some of a semi-professional, others of a purely historical or literary character. Among these are *The History of the Framing of the Constitution of the United States . . .* (2 vols., 1887); *The History of the Supreme Court of the United States* (1891); "The Relation of History and Law as displayed in the Public Records" (1919); "Some English Legal Classics" (1928); and many other articles and addresses.

Over a period of thirty years, Mr. Carson gathered together a notable collection of Americana, which at the time of its sale in 1903, was pronounced by a well-known authority as "the largest and most important collection in America owned by one individual." His fine law library was essentially historical in character, the division on the development of the English common law from the thirteenth century to Blackstone being comparable to that in the British Museum and the Harvard Law Library. He brought together a rare collection of legal documents, manuscripts, autograph letters, rare pamphlets and books, and a large number of engravings and portraits of eminent men in law and public affairs. All of these he gave to the Free Library of Philadelphia, where they constitute "The Hampton L. Carson Collection Illustrative of the Growth of the English Common Law."

His interest in American history was at first mainly in the colonial and revolutionary periods, but gradually extended to the later aspects of our national history. This was greatly stimulated by his broad training in the law and public affairs, and the liberalizing influences of wide reading and travel abroad. To this he added a keen interest in the personal element in history which he expressed so admirably in his address before The Rhode Island State Bar Association on "The Interest and Value of the Study of Legal Biography" (1910). Hence too, he envisaged the history of the Society as it appeared under successive administrations, which doubtless accounts for the unusual number of fine biographical sketches in these volumes and the fact that the narrative is at times somewhat discursive. But whatever the merits or demerits of the

presentation may be, the history is based entirely on firsthand knowledge of the Society's membership, its collections and its work, acquired during many years of patient study and research. It is therefore a matter for genuine congratulation both for The Historical Society of Pennsylvania and for American historical scholarship in general, that Mr. Carson found the time and patience in his mature years to write so comprehensive and unique a history of the Society.

WILLIAM E. LINGELBACH

Preface

ON December 2, 1924, The Historical Society of Pennsylvania celebrated the one hundredth anniversary of its birth. An account of the ceremonies will be found in its appropriate place in Volume II of this work.

At the request of his colleagues of the Council, the writer undertook the expansion of the address delivered by him as president on the memorial occasion into a serious history of the institution. It has been a labor of love and of loyalty, but, owing to the magnitude of the task and its numerous complexities, it has required time and care, with many interruptions in the actual performance. An adequate background had to be supplied through an analysis of the conditions surrounding the founders to throw into proper relief the characters, purposes and achievements of those notable and unselfish men who through years of struggle persevered in nursing the voluntary efforts of a few associates into a powerful, influential and useful society. The growth was gradual, but an effort has been made to present its successive stages in such a manner as to enable the reader to visualize a story of steady progress surmounting crises and discouragements.

Numerous biographies with genealogical features have been attempted, so as to knit Colonial and Revolutionary days to those of the last one hundred years. In this way the unity of our history as a colony, a state, a municipality and as a nation becomes apparent. This result sustains the fact that the development of the Society has definitely followed our civic growth. It would be an error to suppose that the Society has confined its activities to the study of Colonial and Revolutionary days. The War of 1812, the Mexican War, the Civil War, the Spanish-American War and the great World War are all parts of the story.

The accumulation of books, pamphlets, newspapers, broadsides, documents, relics, curios, autograph letters, portraits in

oil, prints and engravings has been amazing in extent, variety and value. The Society possesses an unrivalled mine of material for the use of students, historians, and genealogists, whether of city, state or nation, as well as meeting the needs of the biographers of individuals. The books were either written, read, or owned by our sires; the pamphlets state their contentions, beliefs and projects; the contemporaneous newspapers record their daily acts; the broadsides contain their proclamations; the documents embody and illustrate their essays in government; the relics survive as precious memorials of themselves; the curios display their tastes in domestic embellishment; the autograph letters preserve their authentic opinions upon public and private matters; the portraits preserve their features and the fashion of their dress; the prints and engravings attest the influence and incidents of their lives.

All have been scrupulously examined. The leading collections have been described substantially, without attempting to present a mere catalogue of treasures for which fifty volumes would not suffice.

This work is drawn exclusively from original sources. Reliance has been placed on the minute books of the Society, and the minute books of the Executive Committee and the Council; upon the accessions books; upon the publications of the Society verified by an examination of original manuscripts; upon important original letters contained in the collections of notable collectors who generously gave their treasures to the Society; upon the contemporaneous issues of the daily or weekly press; upon magazines, catalogues and reviews, and upon an examination of the rarest issues of the Colonial and Revolutionary presses. Direct reference to the authorities quoted or relied upon is given in the text, or in some instances in footnotes sustained by cross references.

I have also checked up a personal examination of books and pamphlets by a searching use of Hildeburn's *Issues of the Colonial Press in Pennsylvania, 1685-1784* and *Issues of the Press in New York, 1693-1752*, *The Bibliography of American Historical Societies*, by Appleton Prentiss Clark Griffin (second and revised edition) as forming Volume II of the *Annual Report of The American Historical Association for*

the year 1905; the Bibliography of the Laws of the Massachusetts Bay, 1641-1776, by Worthington Chauncey Ford and Albert Matthews, published by The Colonial Society of Massachusetts in 1907; also the Pennsylvania portion of the exhaustive work of Clarence Saunders Brigham, Director of the American Antiquarian Society, of Worcester, Massachusetts, published in the *Proceedings* of that society, Volumes XXX and XXXII new series, 1920-22, under the title of *Bibliography of American Newspapers, 1690-1820*.

To my wife I am indebted for helpful suggestions and never failing encouragement. My special acknowledgments are due to Dr. Thomas Lynch Montgomery, librarian; Mr. Ernest Spofford, assistant librarian; Mr. George W. Fairchild, second assistant; Miss McMahon, Miss Townsend, Miss Miller, and Miss Kyle for their prompt, intelligent and sympathetic assistance in the production, collocation, illustration, verification and transcription of matter. To Dr. Montgomery, Mr. Spofford, Francis Rawle, Esq., John F. Lewis, Esq., and Professor William E. Lingelbach of the University of Pennsylvania, I am indebted for a critical reading of several chapters of my manuscript; to Miss Laura Bell, A. J. Edmunds, Albert Cook Myers and Burton Alva Konkle for some items of special information. To Dr. Ellis P. Oberholtzer I am under special obligation for a critical examination of the work as a whole, and for helpful suggestions. To Worthington C. Ford, Esq., librarian of the Massachusetts Historical Society; Dr. Wilberforce Eames, of the New York Public Library; and A. J. Wall, Esq., librarian of the New York Historical Society, I give grateful acknowledgment for valuable assistance in some matters of bibliography. I wish also to thank my secretaries, Miss Frances V. Woelfle and Miss Katherine B. Fennell for the indispensable aid they have given me in the typing of the manuscript and the copying of extracts from documents.

For the plan of the work I am alone responsible. So far as I know, no history of a similar society has been attempted upon such a plan or such a scale. Doubtless there are omissions of some matters which specialists will notice, but greater particularity would have distracted attention from that sharpness

of outline which it was important to preserve in a general picture.

To those who, while proud of the past, have faith in the present and are hopeful of the future, these volumes are committed for indulgent consideration, in the hope that they will enable our members and our fellow citizens to realize the enormous value to our civic life of the possessions of the Society, and to appreciate the unselfish services of those who have been active in the conduct of its affairs, and in the further hope that those still in ownership of precious historical material may emulate the examples of the many who have contributed to our *memorabilia* and to our archives by generous gifts.

With us the memories of testators are cherished. Their bequests have enabled the Society to carry out the purposes of the charter in elucidating history. Accumulations of material, without publication or accessibility, would be barren of results. Nigel, the keeper of the conscience of Henry II, wisely said: "Know, Sire, that buried learning, like buried treasure, yieldeth no profit."

HAMPTON L. CARSON

JUNE 1929

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INTRODUCTORY VIEW

The Functions of a Historical Society

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THE 2d of December, 1924, marked the centennial anniversary of the birthday of The Historical Society of Pennsylvania, an institution now widely known to scholars and respected by those who have knowledge of its work. Although but little more than one hundred years old, it stands as the seventh in point of age among similar institutions in the United States, and in some respects foremost in the richness of its treasures as measured by their fitness to the end in view. Professor McMaster, a most competent judge, has recently written of it as "the foremost Society of its kind in our country." Societies purely historical in their aims are of comparatively modern growth, to be distinguished from libraries however old or large or diversified in their collections. In fact, it is only within the last thirty years that the true scope of their activities has become sufficiently defined to admit of reasonable limitations. Their true relations to the study and writing of history have been but recently determined.

In illustrating the processes by which such a result has been reached no happier opportunity can be found or improved than by tracing the growth of The Historical Society of Pennsylvania from the feebleness of the cradle to its present vigorous and active manhood. It was the purpose of its founders "to elucidate the natural, civil and literary history of this State." It will aid in the better appreciation of the character of that purpose, and in a fuller realization of the extent of its accomplishment, if, before telling the story of achievements worthy of commemoration, we consider briefly the growth of interest in history as a science, and thus reach the stage where such societies became indispensable auxiliaries to the study and writing of history.

*Purpose of
the Society*

It is clear, in these days of enlightened endeavor, that efforts intended to be productive of valuable results must be concentrated on definite undertakings. There is a broad distinction between the functions of the historian and those of a historical society, and yet they are so closely related as mutually to sustain each other. To attempt too much on the part of a society by sheltering all things because they are old, is to produce confusion; to attempt too little, or to relax societary efforts in the judicious accumulation of the *materia historica*, is to inflict an immedicable wound upon the writing of history. Without the aid of such societies, all attempts on the part of writers or students would be futile or impossible. No individual, however learned, zealous and industrious, can succeed as an interpreter or writer of history, whether general or special, without the help of the accumulations of material which a society, after assiduous efforts, has placed at his command.

*Aid to the
Historian*

As far back as 1815, Peter S. Du Ponceau, writing to the governor of New Jersey, asked the pertinent question: "How can the Historian himself perform his task with honor and credit if the materials for his work are not collected and preserved for him, before all-devouring time has blotted from the memory of men those interesting details, which alone can give the key to the true causes of public events?"

*Necessity of
Collecting
Material*

Three writers of acknowledged authority have made the matter plain. John Bach McMaster, seventeen years ago, said: "It would not be possible for any one individual who intended to use the material, to bring together in a life time the vast mass of manuscripts, pamphlets, reports, journals, newspapers, and books, that great array of material garnered from ten thousand sources . . . and at the same time make use of it as a writer." Worthington C. Ford, very recently (1923) declared: "Before the writer of history can exist the material must be placed at his service. In that sentence the functions of a historical society are summarized. It collects or makes available the records of the past; it encourages the investigator and writer of history by offering these records in a form fitted for his purpose." The late Charles Francis Adams in 1910 prescribed the necessary limitations: "Space, money, thought, and labor, all should be devoted to the accomplishment of

*Discrimina-
tion Re-
quired*

one well defined result. . . . The period of miscellaneous, accidental and duplicate collection is over, and civilization is entering on an epoch of collectivism and concentration. Completeness on the one hand, and elimination of the superfluous on the other, are the two great desiderata, but to bring them about will be a very gradual and educational process."

We may conclude then that the proper functions of a historical society are chiefly: to *collect, to preserve and to make accessible* reasonably suitable materials from which histories can be written, if undertaken in search of truth. These are delicate functions. To collect indiscriminately, without regard to fitness or quality, is to load archives with worthless matter. There is as much trash among old papers as there is in the letter files of today. Discrimination and judgment must be exercised. To preserve safely means binding, repairs to bindings, restorations of mutilated parts of papers by the use of skilled methods, as well as protection against fire, dust, dampness, kleptomania and the injuries resulting from careless handling on the part of those who have no sense of the value or the cost or the rarity of what they see. To give a copyist a chance to spot autograph documents with ink is to ruin collections. Fortunately, in modern days, the photostat acts as an insurance of the originals of the more important manuscripts. Copies answer the calls of those seeking the verification of quotations. To make accessible means classification, arrangement, indexing and card catalogues, as well as permitting under suitable conditions the examination by scholars. To deny the right of inspection, in cases where the purpose is more than curiosity, is to bury learning and to play the part of miserly hoarding. The possession of a unique copy of a book, if never shown, is to smother the author and stifle knowledge.

It is not the function of a society to write history nor to teach it. It cannot control the writing of history, nor censor its expressions. Corporate action cannot dictate opinion nor recast it when expressed. That must be left to the corrective friction of individual minds. It can, however, withhold its approval of acts or writings deemed dangerous to the state. While not coercing or throttling the opinions of others, it can have an opinion of its own. It can rescue from destruction hallowed shrines

*Proper
Functions*

*How to
Collect*

*How to
Preserve*

*How to
Make
Accessible*

*The True
Sphere of a
Historical
Society.*

and time-tested principles. It can stir a public into action; it can arouse patriotism, sustain national and state pride, stimulate ambition, encourage study, perpetuate illustrious names, and keep alive honorable traditions. Through its books, its manuscripts, its autographs, its portraits, its miniatures and its relics, which, like jewels, hold imprisoned light, it can appeal from all that is worthy in the past to all that is noble in the present and to all that is of consequence to the future. It can aid statesmen in forming correct judgments on the great issues of human affairs. It can help them to safe courses in difficult channels by anchoring the buoys of experience. It can assist writers, teachers, students and readers to a right understanding of the past. That past sways the future. Elemental forces have affected the present, and will affect a distant posterity through our use or abuse of them. A society can furnish a forum for discussion, and can, at times, act as patron of merit by enlarging the bounds of enterprise in unsealing the vaults of hidden knowledge. In the doing of these things there is no interference with liberty of thought or speech. In fine, while standing as the guardian of treasures, a society acts as the generous almoner of learning.

*True Traits
of the
Historian*

And is not all this well worth while? We need not be disturbed by the sneer of Walpole: "The dignity of history! Anything but history, for history must be false"; nor by Napoleon's contemptuous exclamation: "History, what is it, but fiction agreed upon?" In an admirable little book, entitled *The World's Laconics*, by Tryon Edwards, there are two unattributed passages in part borrowed from Bolingbroke: "History is philosophy teaching by example and also by warning; its two eyes are geography and chronology"; and: "An historian ought to be exact, sincere, and impartial; free from passion, unbiased by interest, fear, resentment, or affection; and faithful to the truth, which is the mother of history, the preserver of great actions, the enemy of oblivion, the witness of the past, the director of the future." Dr. Drury, headmaster of St. Paul's School, once said: "History is the story of survivals."

Bishop Mandell Creighton, a well balanced scholar, puts it thus: "The historical conception of progress is founded on

historical experience of the evolution of human affairs. Its object is to understand the past as a whole, to note in every age the thing that was accomplished, the ideas which clothed themselves with power. It tries to estimate them in reference to the times in which they occurred. It knows no special sympathies, for it sees everywhere the working of the great elemental forces which are common to human societies at all times. It strives to weigh the problems of the past in their actual relations to their times; it tries to strip them of their accidental forms, and show their fundamental connection not merely with present ideas but with the process of man's development. A study which has for its subject matter the experience of the past must beware of seeking too direct results. It ought to develop the power of observation rather than supply opinions. The study of history can give no mathematical certainty, but it can create a sober temper, which is the basis of all true wisdom."

*Views
of Dr.
Creighton*

These are thoughtful and pregnant words.

In his inaugural address, delivered on June 3, 1837,* Peter S. Du Ponceau, our second president, declared: "We are not historians; our station, though respectable, is of an humbler degree. Our first duty is to collect and preserve materials for future history, and to elucidate historical facts, which have become obscure by the operation of time. . . . Of the events which now take place, the public are informed by multitudes of newspapers, journals, magazines, books, and pamphlets of every description. All we have to do with respect to these is to collect them, as far as our means permit, and preserve them in a safe repository for future use."

Again, he said: "The collecting of historical documents is also among our first and most important duties; scarce pamphlets and other printed papers, country newspapers, manuscripts, historical fragments never published, but preserved in families, letters and correspondences of eminent characters, in short every thing printed and written that can throw light on our history."

In an address before the Society, January 28, 1848, on the occasion of the opening of its Hall in the Athenaeum, William

* *Memoirs of the Hist. Soc. of Pa.*, IV, pt. 1, p. 22.

*Views of
William B.
Reed*

*Scrutiny
Required*

*The Value
of News-
papers*

*An Intelli-
gence Office*

B. Reed, speaking from the knowledge of a long and active membership, gave a simple and precise exposition of the design, success, and prospects of the Society. "For twenty-two years," he declared, "a few gentlemen interested in memories of the past, have been in the habit of monthly association, and have co-operated to collect materials and open sources of information, from which the historian, by and by, will frame his narrative, and for which he, at least, will thank us. . . . The duties of an historical society are not only the collection, but the scrutiny of original materials. It by no means follows, because a document is old that it is curious or valuable; and a Society ought to have within itself the capacity of making the discrimination. If it has not, the chance is, that it will very soon become the receptacle of antique trash. In the collection and preservation of materials, a society can do much for which individual action is inadequate. There is a class of materials which it is our especial duty to preserve. I refer to public documents, and within certain limits, newspapers. Let any one attempt a minute historical investigation, and he will appreciate this duty. Books of biography and general history may be procured by individuals, and are within the compass of private libraries; but vain would be the attempt, and intolerable the burden of accumulation, to comprise within any four walls of ordinary construction, the vast production, even of the official press of the country or of the State. Yet it is well worth preservation—the 'ha' penny worth of bread in all this sack' is essential to the student—and there should be some depository for everything in the form of a public document, to which there may be easy access. . . .

"An Historical Society should be a sort of 'Intelligence Office' for manuscripts and other original materials, [or] . . . ought at least to know where these collections are. Besides, there are hundreds of interesting manuscript memorials of the past, neglected or carelessly regarded by their owners, that with proper effort on our part, will here find refuge; and can be easily referred to without the restraint which surrounds every private curiosity collection. An Historical Society ought, I repeat, to know where all such things are to be found, so that when the stranger student comes hither on an errand of investigation, we may render him the assistance he desires."

Mr. Reed urged that autograph hunters, directory and almanac collectors, "all who indulge amiable and whimsical curiosity" ought to be ticketed and registered. He pointed out that many a time it happened to a student, that a signature, a date of time or place, the residence of a private citizen, or even the condition of the tide had an interest and value "which the thankless reader little imagines." Then, in a sentence of self revelation, he added: "No one, who has not laboured on these details, knows the delight of lighting on minute evidence thus discovered."

*Encourage-
ment of
Collectors*

Finally, he urged the advantage of having a place where all having interests in historical pursuits might meet, commune and think and talk together. It should be the steady effort of a society to *popularize it*, and to invite rather than discourage accessions to its ranks. He urged a liberal and inviting policy. "If there be one thing more absurd in this country than any other," he remarked, "it is the close boroughing of literary associations of liberal design and professions—the employment by Science, or History, or Philosophy of a corps of janitors to guard their doors and watch the entrance—the enforcement of strict and arbitrary rules, generally having their origin in the whims and prejudices of those who have themselves, in all probability, crawled in under some bar of exclusion."

*A Histori-
cal Society
Should be
Popularized*

All true students, while applauding the liberal spirit of these remarks, will not cherish resentment that practical administrators of a great trust, charged as responsible custodians of things of value, have found it necessary to prescribe certain conditions of examination to guard against the injuries resulting from ignorant or careless handling, or the insidious dangers of that vilest of polite offences, kleptomania.* Proper custodianship is always accompanied by a grave sense of responsibility. Officers are trustees not for the present only, but also for the future.

*The Need
of Rules in
Manage-
ment*

The beneficent uses of a historical society are not confined to specialists nor to general scholars. In one sense the institution is an armory, in another it is an educational establishment

* For instances of kleptomania see Vol. II of this *History*, Chapter I.

*Beneficent
Uses of the
Society*

intended for public service. Our Hall is open to the general public. Strangers in our midst are always welcome. The old and the middle aged can refresh their patriotism; the young can find unexpected springs of pleasure and incentives to research. Teachers and pupils, while gazing on our pictured walls or bending over documents, yield readily to the inspirations of the place. Even the cold, the incredulous or the unsympathetic fail to resist its charms. Very few depart without having taken to heart the lessons of hardship, of struggle, of sacrifice, of courage, of achievement, of wisdom, of devotion to principles taught by our sires. The dreaming eyes of the youthful Penn in armor, the sword of John Paul Jones, the authentic letters of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, the features of Washington as preserved by the brush of Stuart, the office desk of Lincoln are the fit companions of those radiant books which reveal to us the America of the past, which teach us the true meaning of America as she is, and fill us with high hopes of what she may become.

CHAPTER I

Our Natal Year

The Year 1824 In Its Varied Aspects

*Events in England, France, Holland, Spain and South America —
The Monroe Doctrine — Events in Pennsylvania and in Philadelphia — Statistics — Conditions as Seen by the Founders*

THE year 1824 was a chequered one abroad while generally undisturbed but active at home. In England, George IV was King, with Lord Liverpool as prime minister, and the venerable Earl of Eldon as Lord Chancellor. After a prolonged period of depression following the exhausting Napoleonic wars, prosperity again smiled, trade and commerce expanded, agriculture revived with rising prices for grain, while cotton, wool and iron manufactures thrived. Maintaining neutrality between France and Spain and holding aloof from Spanish and Portuguese troubles with their South American possessions, capital became so abundant as to launch numerous stock companies attracted by the mines of Mexico, Brazil, Chile and Peru. An association was formed for cutting a canal across the Isthmus of Darien, and a company was chartered for navigating the Thames and the Isis by steam. Brougham, in the House of Commons, attacked the ministerial policy of non-interference in South America, and Canning replied that he was "clearly of opinion with the President of the United States that no foreign state had a right to interfere pending the disputes between the colonies and the Mother country," yet he was of the opinion that "the Mother country had a right to attempt to recover her colonies, if she thought proper." Parliamentary reform and liberality towards Roman Catholics were rejected by the Tory ministry, dominated by the Chancellor Eldon.

*Events in
England in
1824*

France mourned the death of Louis XVIII, and acclaimed with splendor of ceremonies the accession to the throne of Charles X, whose first act was to abolish the censorship of the

*Events in
France*

press. The ministry, which had gratified the military vanity of the nation by marching a French army into Spain, was able to strengthen its position in the new Chamber of Deputies.

*Events in
Holland*

Holland closed a treaty with England concerning commerce and possessions in Asia, and the herring fisheries on the coast of Scotland and in the North Sea, which had been the cause of numberless disputes for centuries, and which, in the days of Cromwell and Charles II, had led to the fiercest of naval wars, confirming, through English success, the English title to New York, New Jersey, Delaware and Pennsylvania.

*In Spain
and South
America*

Unhappy Spain was fighting with insurgents for the retention of Chile and Peru, with the star of Bolivar—the Liberator, the South American Washington, as he was called—in the ascendant. Portugal was struggling with Dom Pedro in Brazil. Italy had suppressed the chiefs of the Carbonari, while Greece, Turkey and Egypt were at war.

*The
Monroe
Doctrine
in America*

At home, James Monroe was serving the eighth year of his presidency of the United States. In the preceding year, in his annual message to Congress, December 2, 1823, he declared: “The occasion has been judged proper for asserting, as a principle in which the rights and interests of the United States are involved, that the American continents, by the free and independent condition which they have assumed and maintain, are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European powers. . . . We owe it, therefore, to candor and to the amicable relations existing between the United States and those powers to declare that *we should consider any attempt on their part to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety.* With the existing colonies or dependencies of any European power we have not interfered, and shall not interfere. But with the governments who have declared their independence and maintained it, and whose independence we have, on great consideration and on just principles, acknowledged, we could not view any interposition for the purpose of oppressing them, or controlling in any other manner their destiny, by any European power, in any other light than as *the manifestation of an unfriendly disposition toward the United States.*”

Thus was the Monroe Doctrine born, and one of the mildest and most amiable of our Presidents announced, without legislative sanction, a political dictum, which is regarded as fundamental law, bearing the stamp of fearless authority in foreign courts as well as in domestic councils. What more convincing proof can be cited of our growing national consciousness than this? In effect it had been declared: Hands off, stand back, these western continents belong to America!

This was the crown of Monroe's long administration. The remaining principal subjects engrossing attention were the defence of the Atlantic sea-board, the promotion of internal improvements, the Seminole War, the acquisition of Florida, and the Missouri Compromise, upon which John Sergeant of Philadelphia had made a speech, praised then, and by many of today thought to be the ablest speech ever delivered in the lower house of Congress.

The era of Monroe was one of good feeling, when "all were Federalists, all Republicans," as Democrats were then called, a proper time for contemplative men to engage in promoting the peaceful, patriotic and non-partisan purpose of founding a society exclusively devoted to history. Already was there an awakening of national interest in the approaching celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of the signing of the Declaration of Independence. Memories of our Revolutionary struggle were quickened and all hearts stirred by the arrival on our shores of Lafayette. In the midst of this outburst of patriotic enthusiasm the electoral college for the first and last time failed to function, and the election of Monroe's successor was thrown into Congress.

*The Era
of Good
Feeling*

In Pennsylvania, John Andrew Shulze, a man of much scholastic culture and grace, had just been elected governor. He devoted himself to the promotion of the public school system of the state, and to a project for conducting a canal connecting the Susquehanna and the Delaware rivers through the great valley of Chester and Lancaster counties. At the same time the route of the Chesapeake and Delaware Canal was settled, while improvements of the navigation of the Schuylkill and the extension of its canal into the coal regions were

*Events in
Pennsyl-
vania*

completed. The Lehigh Navigation Canal had already reached Mauch Chunk.

Government in Philadelphia

In Philadelphia, the form of government emphasized the still existing legal fact that the municipality is but an agency of the state, and subject to administrative changes at the will of the legislature. The mayor, recorder and aldermen, fifteen in number, were appointed by the governor, the first named being picked from the latter. The members of select council, twelve in number, and of common council, twenty in number, alone were chosen by the people. The aldermen had the jurisdiction of justices of the peace, and the mayor's court, in those days an important tribunal consisting of the mayor, the recorder and any four of the aldermen, had the same jurisdiction within the limits of the city as the courts of quarter sessions within their respective counties.

Extent of Philadelphia in 1824

Joseph Watson was appointed mayor by Governor Shulze and Joseph Reed (the Younger) recorder. Among the aldermen were the still well remembered names of Robert Wharton, many times mayor; William Duane, the irascible editor of the *Aurora*; John Binns, the famous Irish exile, the friend of Priestley, whose *Recollections* of those days still warms the blood; and William Milnor, the historian.

The city proper extended only from the Delaware to the Schuylkill rivers between Vine and Cedar or South Streets. Its population, according to the census of 1820, was 63,802; the outlying districts, each under an independent government, of Northern Liberties, Spring Garden, Kensington, Southwark, Moyamensing, Kingsessing, and the townships of Passyunk, Oxford, Blockley, Roxborough, Germantown, and Frankford Borough added 72,695, making a total of 136,497 for the county of Philadelphia. It was not until the Consolidation Act of 1854, that the limits of the city became co-extensive with those of the county, although the legal distinction between city and county officers is still confusingly maintained. New York had a population of 116,706; Baltimore, 62,627; Boston, 43,893; and Charleston, S. C., 37,481. In total exports New York stood first, Boston second, and Philadelphia third, but in domestic exports Philadelphia ranked

Statistics of Population and Commerce

before Boston, while in foreign exports Boston outranked New York.

William Tilghman was chief justice of the supreme court of Pennsylvania, with Thomas Duncan and John Banister Gibson as his associates, a superb legal triumvirate. The county courts were the district court, with Moses Levy as its president, Joseph B. McKean and Benjamin R. Morgan as his associates; and the court of common pleas, with John Hallowell as president, and George Morton and Hugh Ferguson as associates. The last named three, under the terms of their commissions, acted also as judges of the orphans' court, the courts of oyer and terminer and general gaol delivery, and quarter sessions. The offices of the prothonotaries and clerks of all these courts, as well as those of the recorder of deeds, the register of wills, the sheriff, the grand jury, the guardians of the poor, the county commissioners, the clerks of the circuit and district courts of the United States, and of the United States marshal were all accommodated in the State House and its wings. This single fact enables us to visualize the small extent of the judicial and public business of the times, divided among 148 members of the bar.

*State
Officers*

Of newspapers, there were eighteen published in Philadelphia, of which eleven were dailies. New York had seven, Baltimore five, and Boston two. Of Philadelphia magazines, there were *The Mirror of Taste*, *The Port Folio*, *The American Monthly Magazine*, *The Museum of Foreign Literature and Science*, *The Christian Advocate* and *The Reformer*. Of medical journals, there were four, and of law reports, a regular series.

*Newspapers
in Phila-
delphia*

Of churches or of houses for religious worship, there were eighty-eight, divided among twenty-seven sects, of which the Presbyterians were the most numerous, the Methodists next, the Episcopalians third, the Baptists fourth, the Quakers fifth, the Roman Catholics and the German Lutherans being equal in the sixth place. There were also Bible Christians, Seventh Day Baptists, Free Quakers, German Reformed, Reformed Dutch, Jews, Mennonists, Moravians, Swedenborgians, Universalists, Swedish Lutherans, Schwenckfelders, and Unitarians. The racial strains were equally varied. There were

*Churches in
Philadelphia*

English, Hollanders, Swedes, Welsh, Irish, Scots, Scots-Irish, Germans, French, Italians, Swiss, Galicians, Silesians.

*Expressive
Condition in
Pennsyl-
vania*

These interesting facts furnish an explanation of much that has been misunderstood in Pennsylvania history, and present a solution of that lack of homogeneity and unanimity of sentiment with which at times we have been reproached. Our problems have differed substantially and essentially from those belonging to states north and south, where the original settlers were largely of one race and one creed. That which has seemed confusion to other eyes constitutes the finest tribute to the broad and tolerant principles and gentle sway of William Penn, under whose government the oppressed of all nations sought safe shelter and breathed the healing air of liberty. No witch was ever hanged, or Quaker whipped, or Roger Williams exiled in the land of Penn. Schisms there were, as there always will be where thought is free, but persecution never.

One of the far-seeing purposes of the founders of this Society was to focus the thoughts of all sects upon the common glory of the commonwealth which all had helped to build, and to make them partners in a common state pride, a difficult task but meeting with a success both gratifying and superb.

*Amuse-
ments*

It was a happy people on the banks of the Delaware. Their lives were not all drab. They had their places of amusement, five theatres, and a Vauxhall Garden. Binns tells us of "picnic parties made up to meet and spend the day in the Centre Square"—where the City Hall now stands—"which was then well shaded with trees." He assures us that "numerous tea parties were, every fine summer evening, to be seen enjoying themselves in what were called Markoe's woods, between Market and Chestnut Streets, above Ninth." He writes of the large walnut trees opposite to the State House, under which reposed the white successors of "the red brethren who in the time of Penn used to refresh themselves, their squaws and papooses, after the fatigues of the chase." He speaks of improvements in the public squares, Independence Square alone excepted, "the air purified with the sweetest grass, and occasionally by new mown hay," rescued from cow markets and

the uninclosed potter's field, now known as Washington Square.

There were hotels and taverns and inns, the Buck, the Golden Harp, the Golden Swan, the Indian Queen, the Red Lion, the White Bear and the Sorrel Horse. There were public baths, four in number, one back of the Mansion House in Bingham's Court, and one anchored in the Delaware opposite to Market Street. There was the lure of the Fairmount Water Works with two basins or reservoirs and the dam, with the garden of Henry Pratt, now Lemon Hill. There was the "water nymph, with an aquatic bird on her shoulder, from the chisel of the celebrated Rush of this City," of which the conservative statement was made: "Through the beak of this bird a fountain *sometimes* discharges itself." There were two permanent bridges across the Schuylkill, one at Callowhill Street, commanding a view of the river at Fairmount; one at Market Street; and at Grays' there was a ferry. Between them stood Beck's Shot Tower, an object of curiosity. There were fifteen breweries, two prisons, a debtors' jail, a bettering house, almshouses, asylums, soup-houses and hospitals, for, after all, our sires were very human.

*Hotels,
Baths*

*Varied As-
pects of
the City*

The Philadelphian of 1824 could take the air between Pine and Arch and Broad and Second Streets, and in his walks observe the striking and instructive contrasts between our time-honored and distinctive Colonial architecture, and the rising structures of purely Grecian types. No towering office buildings shut out the view nor made comparison impossible. Each building or group of buildings had its setting in intervening gardens or orchards, and each in turn appealed to the patriotic or to the artistic imaginations of our sires. The Pennsylvania Hospital, St. Peter's Church, the old Market House at Second and Pine, the Quaker Alms' House in Willing's Alley, Carpenters' Hall, the old Philadelphia Library, the Philadelphia Dispensary or Surgeons' Hall, the Hall of the American Philosophical Society, the State House and its wings, Congress Hall, the City Hall, Christ Church, the Court House at Second and Market Streets, the Quaker meeting houses, the Old Academy, the Apprentices' Library, the Library of Free Quakers, the Penn Charter school house—many of them

*Colonial
Architec-
ture*

happily still with us—constituted a matchless group in the aggregate of Philadelphia colonial architecture.

*Examples of
Grecian
Temples in
Philadelphia*

Among them rose in their immortal beauty, the finest and then most recent expressions of a revival of Greek art, their columns and white walls embowered in leafy fringes of the ancient forest. The Second Bank of the United States, now the Custom House, with its Doric columns, lifted by terraces, recalled the Parthenon. The First Bank of the United States, later Stephen Girard's bank with its Corinthian capitals and its groups of fluted columns recalled the temple of Jupiter at Athens. The Bank of Pennsylvania, then on Second Street, built of white marble, was designed from the temple of the Muses on the Ilyssus, with two Ionic porticos of six columns each, supporting entablatures and pediments. Nor did Christian congregations deem it an impiety to worship within buildings whose exteriors were Greek. The First Presbyterian Church presented a beautiful and chaste reproduction of an Ionic temple, while a still more perfect reproduction of the Ionic order, modeled after the temple of Bacchus at Teos, was found in St. Andrew's Episcopal Church, "with its six fluted columns in *enstyle*, with a strictly copied entablature charged with all the enrichments of the original." Even the rostrum and chancel were Greek. The architect wrote: "The principal feature in the design is two large columns with their pilasters and entablature of the Grecian Ionic Order, taken from the Temple of Minerva Polias at Athens, and here executed without the slightest deviation from the proportions given in Stewart's Athens." The Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts was "modern Ionic," having a great dome, with an eye like that of the Pantheon, to give light to the central hall, and semi-circular architraves.

Commerce, too, fell under the spell and the Merchants' Exchange faced Girard's bank with a semi-circular front embellished with a portico of eight Corinthian columns and antae. A circular lantern rose above the roof modeled after the choragic monument at Athens, called the Lantern of Demosthenes.

Centre Square, where the City Hall now stands, contained the Engine House for the public water supply, the building

being faced with white marble, with a Doric portico on both the east and west fronts surmounted by a dome, with an encircling background of Lombardy poplars, a tree imported by Thomas Jefferson. William Rush, the sculptor, placed in front of the reservoir his statue of Leda and the swan. Later, on removal from Centre Square to the east bank of the Schuylkill, the wheel houses at Fairmount Water Works were placed beneath terraces still sheltered by the most exquisite examples in America of open Greek temples. Throughout the city the architects Strickland, Latrobe and Haviland, and the sculptor Rush had lavished their genius upon efforts to introduce Grecian types of beauty.

Such were the varied aspects of the year 1824, in the nation, the state and the city, as seen by our founders.

CHAPTER II

Character of Historical Literature in 1824

The Classics — First Appearance of American Historical Novels — Paucity of American Histories — Colonial Histories — Marshall's Life of Washington — Sanderson's Lives of the Signers — Value of Portraits — Influence of War of 1812 — Associations of the Founders — Example Set by Other States

*Character
of Historical
Literature in 1824*

AS a complement to the description of Philadelphia given in the preceding chapter, it will not be inappropriate to add a sketch of the character of historical literature existing in 1824, and an estimate of the value of the work of the portrait painters of that period.

*The
Classics*

An examination of six private libraries of the period sustains the assertion that on the shelves of educated Philadelphians, one hundred years ago, were to be found the histories of Herodotus, Thucydides, Xenophon, Polybius, Sallust, Livy, and Tacitus, with Plutarch's *Lives*, Cicero, Caesar, Virgil, Horace and the younger Pliny as attendants. A few rejoiced in precious Aldines and Elzevirs in the original Greek or Latin, but the many possessed excellent translations into French or English by competent classical scholars. Our citizens then knew more of Grecian, Roman, English and even ecclesiastical history than they did of the one hundred and forty-two years that had elapsed since the landing of Penn. They had not then begun to realize as we do from the wealth of material now in hand, the causes, the meaning and the effects of the American Revolution.

*Philadelphia
Imprints
of the
Classics*

Public libraries, as shown by the catalogues, published between 1817 and 1837, of the American Philosophical Society, the Friends' Library, the Mercantile Library, the Athenaeum, and the Library Company of Philadelphia, were possessed of the classical authors named, thus making them accessible to the general reading public. The catalogues show also the interesting fact that there were Philadelphia imprints of Russell's *Rise and Fall of the Roman Empire*, in five volumes, 1800; Gifford's *Juvenal*, in two volumes, 1803; Barthé-

lemy's *Anacharsis*, in four volumes, 1804; Gibbon's *Decline and Fall*, in eight volumes, 1804; Murphy's *Translation of Tacitus*, in two volumes, 1813; Sallust, in one volume, 1814; Beloe's *Herodotus*, in four volumes, 1814; Dr. William Smith's *Thucydides*, in two volumes, 1818; Gifford's *Flaccus*, in one volume, 1822; Potter and Franklin's *Selections from the Tragedies of Æschylus, Sophocles and Euripides*, in one volume, 1822; Lemprière's *Classical Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities*, in one volume, 1822; and Baker's *Livy*, in six volumes, 1823.

These were the books that gave a polish to private conversation and to public speech, supplying publicists with their arguments, eulogists with their comparisons, pamphleteers with their pseudonyms, and painters and sculptors with their subjects. "The glory that was Greece and the grandeur that was Rome" refined the tastes and exalted the minds of readers, just as the examples of Grecian architecture in the city instructed and pleased the eye with lines of strength and beauty. It was a part of the culture of the day.

In the first decade of the 19th century appeared a new element in American literature, one destined to sturdy growth—the historical novel. Two great American names were in the ascendant in 1824—Charles Brockden Brown and James Fenimore Cooper. Brown was the first in the field, ranking therefore not only as the first of Philadelphia novelists, but as the earliest of the American writers of the historical novel.

*The
Novelists*

Of Quaker descent and well educated, Brown, born in 1771, after some years of legal study, preferred "the toilsome occupation of book-making, from the pure love of literature, and a benevolent desire to benefit his fellow creatures. . . . He wished to become a teacher of truth, and he adopted the vehicle of novel writing as most likely to produce the effect upon the greater number of his fellow creatures." In 1798 he published his powerful and successful novel, *Wieland*. The next year he produced *Arthur Mervyn*, the scenes of which were suggested by those he had witnessed in Philadelphia in 1793, and the recent events of 1798 in New York. His description of the ravages of yellow fever strongly reminds one of Defoe's account of the great plague in London. Then came

*Charles
Brockden
Brown*

Ormond, followed by *Edgar Huntley*, which partook largely of his first composition of the same kind, *Sky-Walk*. Both are full of incident and extraordinary adventure. In 1800 appeared the second part of *Arthur Mervyn*; in 1801, *Clara Howard*, and in 1804, *Jane Talbot*, first printed in London, and immediately reprinted in America. This was his last work. He died in 1810 of consumption at the too early age of thirty-nine. A complete edition of his novels in six volumes, with a memoir of the author, appeared, in 1827, in Boston. All of his work was accomplished and made public before the "Wizard of the North" riveted attention in 1814, by the anonymous authorship—long maintained—of *Waverly*.

James
Fenimore
Cooper

Then came James Fenimore Cooper with his first novel, *Precaution*, in 1820, which few read then, and nobody reads now. It failed because of its dullness, and its effort to depict scenes the author had never witnessed, and a life he had never led. It was followed by *The Spy*, *The Pioneers*, and *The Pilot*, the last in 1824, all of which met with immediate success both at home and abroad. The reason was plain. The author had set himself tasks near to his heart, and described scenes, manners, customs, characters and incidents which appealed to the patriotic pride of his countrymen. Here were truly American historical novels. Harvey Birch, in *The Spy*, the famous secret emissary employed by Washington on the banks of the Hudson to counteract the machinations of Sir Henry Clinton during the black days of Arnold's treason, became a popular hero, because in him was recognized one of a class of men who had helped America to win in the then recent struggle. Natty Bumpo, in *The Pioneers*, was the typical pioneer who chafed against the advance of civilization into the wilderness. In the unknown Pilot, who guided with calm courage and supreme seamanship the American frigate through dangerous shoals and roaring billows while the confusion of battle raged, the eager readers recognized the redoubted John Paul Jones.

The value of these books consisted not so much in awakening pride in the possession of authors who had created a distinctive literature, as in carrying conviction to thoughtful minds that we had an honorable history all our own, and that even our humblest men were creatures of brain and brawn

fit to be recognized among the builders of the nation. They helped to create a national self-consciousness, which became the basis of more strictly historical composition.

It must not be concluded that there was an entire absence of American historical literature. The field, however, was but sparsely cultivated; the soil was rich though lying fallow, and the crop, though scanty, was promising. It is difficult for us, who now enjoy the fruits of educated authorship resulting from the rescue of historical flotsam and jetsam during the past one hundred years, to realize how insignificant in available bulk that scattered material was in the year 1824. The books themselves are now on the shelves of this Society. Charles R. Hildeburn's *Issues of the Press in Pennsylvania, 1685-1784*, J. Franklin Jameson's *The History of Historical Writing in America*, Albert H. Smyth's *The Philadelphia Magazines and their Contributors, 1741-1850*, and Ellis Paxson Oberholtzer's *Literary History of Philadelphia* reveal and review the material.

*The Sources
of our
Historic
Literature*

Charles R. Hildeburn, who had the knowledge and the tastes of the true bibliophile as well as a genius for discovery of long hidden things—making him a veritable literary Flinders Petrie of archaic historical remains—describes in his *Issues of the Press in Pennsylvania*, four thousand seven hundred items, as the products of our industrious printers and publishers, one hundred and two in number, beginning with William Bradford in 1685, and ending in 1784 with Michael Billmeyer. The issues so described embrace newspapers, journals, magazines, almanacs, poems, plays, essays, treatises, text books, tracts, pamphlets, broadsides, books on religion, politics, geography, mathematics, science, military affairs, medicine and law, the last illustrated by the *History and Defense of Magna Charta* (W. and J. Bradford, 1771) and Blackstone's *Commentaries* (Robert Bell, 1771-1773).

*The Issues
of the
Pennsyl-
vania Press*

Dr. Jameson in his *History of Historical Writing in America* covering, *inter alia*, the entire period of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and the early part of the nineteenth, can find but Proud's *History of Pennsylvania* as pertaining specially to ourselves. It is true that he glances at the magazines, but he tersely says: "Nevertheless, the years that inter-

*Dr.
Jameson's
List*

vened between the first and the second war with Great Britain were not wholly barren. Something of literature began to grow up, though the flowers that blossomed in the prim and formal inclosures of the 'Monthly Anthology' and 'The Portfolio' seem to our eyes but a pale and sickly product."

Dr. Ober-
holtzer's
List

Dr. Oberholtzer in his charming *The Literary History of Philadelphia*, adds the names of Caleb Pusey, Thomas Chalkley, Jonathan Dickenson, Thomas Lloyd and James Logan to that of Robert Proud, although he makes it clear that their writings were controversial, polemical and semi-political, rather than historical. The closest approach to history was Gabriel Thomas' *An Historical and Geographical Account of the Province and Country of Pennsylvania and West Jersey*, published in London in 1698, one hundred years ahead of Proud. The "bulk and selvedge" of Oberholtzer's valuable book is, according to his plan, concerned, in the period of which we are writing, chiefly with the magazines, Joseph Dennie, the editor of *The Port Folio*, being the most conspicuous literary figure.

Dr. Smyth's
List

Professor Smyth in his *The Philadelphia Magazines and Their Contributors, 1741-1850*, writes within far narrower lines, and names no historians, not even Proud. His samples, fully and fairly characteristic of the contents of the Philadelphia magazines aside from their classical and artistic features prove conclusively that

Young blushing writers, eager for the bays,
Try here the merit of their new-born lays.

We find the names of John Scott, Edward Spencer, Cuthbert Shaw, Christopher Smart, and William B. Tappan among those song birds whose wings were too weak to carry them far from overcrowded nests.

It is from the catalogues of the public libraries of Philadelphia that the most exact knowledge of the state of historical literature, prior to 1824, is to be derived.

The Work
of Gabriel
Thomas

The work of Gabriel Thomas, consisting of fifty-five pages, published in London in 1698, after a fifteen years' residence in Pennsylvania, "is indisputably true," as the author asserts, as "I was an eye-witness to it all." Although, in the modest

preface, addressed to "Friend William Penn—Most Noble and Excellent Governor," it is called "a Plain and Peasant-like Piece," yet it is "not a *Fiction, Flam, Whim*, or any sinister *Design*, either to impose upon the Ignorant, or Credulous, or to curry Favour with the Rich and Mighty."

It contains an account of the Indians, of the Dutch, of the Swedes, of the surrender by the latter to the former, and of the English conquest over the Dutch in 1664 by Sir Robert Carr. It describes Philadelphia with its streets, lanes and buildings, its fairs, its markets, its tradespeople and their callings, with the wages paid and the tempting prospects to immigrants. The wholesomeness of the climate, the fertility of the soil, the variety of grains, the largeness of orchards, the amazing number of cattle, the abundance of game and of fish, the presence of copper, iron, limestone, and asbestos, the availability and prices of town lots and farms are all set forth in lively but not overstrained terms. Trade advantages, wharves, shipyards, granaries, cranes, rope-walks, cook-shops, water-mills, freedom from tithes, inconsiderable taxes, the absence of persecution, the living in friendliness in the "city of *Brotherly-Love* (for so much the *Greek Word* or Name *Philadelphia* imports) . . . will, in all probability, make a fine Figure in the World, and be a most Celebrated *Emporium*." Having thus indulged in prophecy, he gives a touch of realism by adding: "Here is built a noble *Town-House* or *Guild-Hall*, also a Handsom *Market-House* and a convenient *Prison*."

*A Picture
of Primitive
Philadelphia*

The laws were the same as those in England, "our Constitution being on the same Foot: Many Disputes and Differences are determined and composed by Arbitration; and all Causes are decided with great Care and Expedition, being concluded (generally) at furthest at the Second Court." Unconscious of the coming fame of Philadelphia lawyers and doctors, he writes: "Of *Lawyers* and *Physicians* I shall say nothing, because this Countrey is very Peaceable and Healty [*sic*]; long may it so continue and never have occasion for the Tongue of the one, nor the Pen of the other, both equally destructive to Mens Estates and Lives; besides, forsooth, they, Hang-Man like, have a License to Murder and make Mischief." Nor does he forget that "in the said City are several

*Law and
Medicine*

good *Schools of Learning* for Youth, in order to the Attainment of *Arts and Sciences*, as also *Reading, Writing, &c.*"

A more admirable compendium of history, of trade statistics, of living conditions, of the seductiveness of Pennsylvania, in 1698, it would be difficult to find.

Sewel's History and Franklin's Review

Thirty years elapsed and then came a Philadelphia imprint, in 1728, of Sewel's *History of the Quakers*, to be followed twenty-eight years later, in 1756, by *An Historical Review of the Constitution and Government of Pennsylvania, from its Origin; so far as regards the several Points of Controversy, which have, from Time to Time, arisen Between the several Governors of that Province and Their several Assemblies, Founded on authentic Documents*. This last was printed in London, and the authorship was attributed to Franklin, who, it has been frequently asserted, denied it. All doubts, however, have been recently disposed of by the late Dr. I. Minis Hays in a conclusive paper read in April, 1924, before the American Philosophical Society. Franklin's work is a serious and substantial book of more than four hundred pages and can be critically examined only after a mastery of an immense mass of controversial matter now upon our shelves. It bears upon the title page as a clue to its contents a sentence characteristic of Franklin: "Those who would give up Essential Liberty to purchase a little Temporary Safety, deserve neither Liberty nor Safety."

Proud's History

Forty-one years ran by, and then, in 1797-1798, appeared in two volumes, from the press of Zachariah Poulson, Junior, *The History of Pennsylvania, in North America, from the Original Institution and Settlement of that Province, under the first Proprietor and Governor William Penn, in 1681, till after the Year 1742; with an Introduction, and an Appendix*, by Robert Proud.*

Dr. Jameson, in 1891, called it "a valuable History." The author expressly stated in his preface, that the materials "appear, in some things, and more so at particular times, very defective, yet the compilation is made from the best that could

* The original manuscript of Proud's history in eight volumes from 1760 to 1770, and in six volumes from 1776 to 1780 was bought by the Society at the sale of the Proud Papers on the 8th and 9th of May, 1903.

be had." He named, as among the first collectors of these materials, Caleb Pusey, a member at different times of the Provincial Council, as well as of the Assembly, whose papers, after his death in 1725, were delivered to David Lloyd and Isaac Norris, and afterwards to James Logan, about the year 1732. From these persons, "who made such additions, as came within their observation," they afterwards passed to John Kinsey, the Chief Justice of Pennsylvania, "who, in conjunction with several others, his friends, revised them; and they remained in his possession till his death, in the year 1750." The title page expressly limited the scope of the work to the interval between 1681 and 1742, and stated that it was written principally between 1776 and 1780. The opening words of the preface dated Philadelphia, 1797, are these: "The following history was written many years ago, as mentioned in the title page; but the great change in this country, which ensued, and was then forming, prevented the publication."

Part First, of the introduction containing 102 pages, was devoted to the life of William Penn, and included a comprehensive view of the rise, principles and manners of the Quakers. Part Second, consisting of 63 pages, contained "a short preliminary sketch" of the first colonization of America by the English, of the Dutch and Swedish settlements on the Delaware, and of the rise of the colony of New Jersey, in which Penn was vitally interested, previous to his charter for Pennsylvania. Both of these parts were enriched by illuminating notes. Clearly, Proud had anticipated the modern scientific demand for a historic background.

*Analysis
of Proud's
Work*

The history proper in Volume One consisted of 321 pages, divided into 17 chapters, and in Volume Two of 11 additional chapters, filling an additional 232 pages of text, also carefully annotated. The narrative did not stop with 1742, but was brought down to 1770. There followed a *View of the Province of Pennsylvania* in four parts, from 1760 to 1770, covering 123 pages. Part I dealt with the physical features of Pennsylvania, its seasons, weather conditions, its soil, its mountains, valleys, plains, rivers and creeks. Part II dealt with "the chorography," divisions into counties, principal towns,

*Analysis
Continued*

the produce and staples of the country, trade and commerce, the city of Philadelphia, internal police and courts of judicature in Pennsylvania, with the public affairs of 1772, from the provincial council and supreme court, down to the land office, the port officers, the court of admiralty and aldermen. Part III dealt with the Indians, their origin, the Six Nations, the causes of the Indian wars, and means of securing peace. Part IV dealt with the religious state of Pennsylvania, the variety of the religious sects, Mennonists, Dunkards, Schwenckfelders, and Moravians, and concluded with a musical translation into English verse of Thomas Makin's Latin poem *In laudes Pensilvaniae poema, seu, descriptio Pensilvaniae, Anno 1729*, found among James Logan's papers many years after his death.

*Analysis
Continued*

The appendix consisted of two parts. Part I, containing 54 pages, furnished the exact text of certain concessions agreed upon by William Penn with the first purchasers—in 1681; Penn's Frame of Government and laws as published in 1682; the charter granted by Penn in 1683; the amended charter of 1696, under Markham; the address of the Assembly to William Penn, with his answer, in 1701; and the charter of the city of Philadelphia in the same year. Thus was the reading public supplied with an easy means of knowledge of important papers, not readily to be had. Part II also contained the address of the Friendly Association to Governor Denny, in 1757, and the journal of Christian Frederick Post, written in 1758, among the Indians. Both volumes had excellent indexes to leading events, arranged chronologically, a feature lacking in so many books.

*Defence
of Proud's
Work*

We have taken the pains to describe briefly Proud's work, first because it was the *only* history of Pennsylvania known to the founders of this Society, and next, because we are convinced that it has been underestimated and misjudged. We submit that Professor Jameson's valuation was correct. In fact the work, after giving long odds, may challenge favorable comparison with Smith's *Virginia*, Beverly's *Virginia*, Stith's *Virginia*, Smith's *New York*, Smith's *New Jersey*, Hutchinson's *Massachusetts*, Minot's *Massachusetts*, and Trumbull's *Connecticut*. The only book of its day comparable to it in

excellence was Belknap's *New Hampshire*. In writing this, we are not insensible to the merits of Governor Bradford's *History of Plymouth Plantation*, but as the manuscript of that work was lost and unknown until 1856, it may be excluded from the reckoning. The same is partly true of Winthrop's *History of New England*, mangled by Noah Webster in 1790, and not fully restored to favor until the Massachusetts Historical Society undertook the task in 1816.

Ebeling's history of Pennsylvania as part of a larger work in seven volumes on *The Geography and History of America*, lauded and relied upon by Du Ponceau, in 1821, has never been wholly translated from the German, and although advertised as published in 1803, cannot be found in the public libraries. A manuscript copy of sixty-five pages of a summary of Pennsylvania history, translated into English by Dr. Eberle, exists among the archives of this Society. It was this abstract that Du Ponceau relied upon.

The remaining historical works, available to the founders were the following: Ebenezer Hazard's *Historical Collections*, "consisting of State Papers and other authentic Documents intended as materials for a History of The United States of America," printed at Philadelphia, in two volumes, in 1792; Marshall's *Life of George Washington* in five volumes, printed in Philadelphia, with an atlas, in 1804; Ramsay's *Universal History Americanized* in twelve volumes, printed in Philadelphia, in 1809; Graydon's *Memoirs of a Life, Chiefly Passed in Pennsylvania within the last Sixty Years*, printed at Harrisburg in 1811; Clarkson's *Life of William Penn* in one volume, printed in Philadelphia, in 1816; William Temple Franklin's *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Benjamin Franklin*, in six volumes, printed in Philadelphia in 1818; Ramsay's *History of the United States* in three volumes, printed in Philadelphia, in 1818; Botta's *History of the War of Independence*, in three volumes, printed in Philadelphia in 1820; and Sanderson's *Biography of the Signers to the Declaration of Independence*, in nine volumes, printed, in 1823, 1824, 1827, 1839, in Philadelphia.

Early
American
Histories

In the eyes of today, what a meagre list! These books, if placed side by side, would not fill three shelves of the upper

part of an old-fashioned mahogany combination of drawers, writing desk and book case with its diamond shaped panes of glass, with shelves but four feet long. They could provoke but not satisfy an appetite for American or Pennsylvania history. The sight of the thin array of books doubtless caused pangs of hunger for further histories of our own. So few, indeed, were they, that the poverty of our libraries threatened the next generation with starvation. In the absence of direct evidence, it is not improbable that questions occurred to the founders such as these: How were the coming generations to know of the deeds of the Fathers? How were such histories as those of Xenophon, Plutarch, Livy and Tacitus to be written of America? Where was the material for such works? How was that material to be had? And, if accessible and procurable, how was it to be assembled and saved for posterity? Such conjectures are not unreasonable. They are natural, we had almost written, inevitable.

*Paucity of
American
Histories*

Let it be recalled that in 1824, Bancroft and Hildreth had not written—and were not to write until many years later—their histories of the United States. Sparks had not edited *The Writings of George Washington*, Gordon had not written his *History of Pennsylvania*, Watson had not published his *Annals of Philadelphia*, Hazard had not compiled his *Annals of Pennsylvania*, Ferris had not written his *Original Settlements on the Delaware*. The *Minutes of the Provincial Council of Pennsylvania* and the *Colonial Records of Pennsylvania* still slumbered in manuscript. The London, Dutch and Swedish documents, so indispensable to an understanding of the relations of Johan Printz, Peter Stuyvesant and the Earl of Clarendon to our earliest periods of existence as an English colony and to Penn's charter, were still buried in the national archives at Stockholm, the Hague, and London. The Penn and Logan papers were unknown. There were diaries, like that of Christopher Marshall, still waiting to be clothed in print before facing the public gaze; there were fugitive pieces, like those by Pelatiah Webster, still running at large like colts before being rounded up. The vast masses of public documents, colonial, state, and national, were inaccessible to the public.

The only work which approached, either in character or in dignity, the semblance of an American history in general was John Marshall's *Life of George Washington*, a work bitterly assailed upon its appearance by political antagonists, and too frequently regarded today as obsolete or insufficient. Dr. Jameson has recognized its worth as among the most important historical authorities for the story of the War for Independence. With true appreciation he wrote in 1891: "Often, indeed, those earlier lives have for the student of today much more of the attraction of freshness and originality than the biographies written in our own time; the writers of these latter have frequently so full a sense of the American political history of which their subject forms a part that the individuality of the portrait is impaired by the attention paid to the background." It is true that the style of Marshall, while at times animated and touched with color, is in the main severe and heavy, partaking of his judicial temperament, but the clearness of statement, the orderly arrangement and the strength of his strokes give incontestable proof of the certainty of his knowledge.

The real value of the work is that this literary study of Washington was drawn from life—like the Boston Athenaeum portrait of Washington painted from life by Stuart—by a man who well knew Washington, who had served under him, who had first access to his original papers, who was selected by his nephew, Judge Bushrod Washington, to be the biographer of the commander-in-chief of the American forces during the war which established the independence of his country, the president of the convention that framed the Constitution of the United States, and the first President of the United States under that Constitution. Marshall was an author whose purity of character and exalted ability as a judge in interpreting the Constitution have placed him, with the consent of all his countrymen, irrespective of party, upon those empurpled heights which Virgil tells us belong to the immortals.

*Marshall's
Life of
Washington*

The introduction to the *Life of George Washington*, filling the first volume of more than 500 pages, is devoted to "A compendious view of the colonies planted by the English on the

Continent of North America, from their settlement to the commencement of that War which terminated in their independence." Marshall explained in his preface his reasons for attempting such an introduction. "The history of general Washington, during his military command and civil administration, is so much that of his country, that the work appeared to the author to be most sensibly incomplete and unsatisfactory, while unaccompanied by such a narrative of the principal events preceding our revolutionary war, as would make the reader acquainted with the genius, character and resources of the people about to engage in that memorable contest." These words were written with a philosophic as well as judicial sense of the necessity for a proper base. Marshall's remaining words stated the exigency of the hour: "This appeared the more necessary as that period of our history is but little known to ourselves. Several writers have detailed very minutely the affairs of a particular colony, but the *desideratum* is a composition which shall present in one connected view, the transactions of all those colonies which now form the United States." *

In 1823, an important series of biographies was begun under the title of *Biography of the Signers to the Declaration of Independence* by John Sanderson, four volumes appearing in that year, followed by three in 1824, and by two in 1827. To this notable work Robert Walsh and Robert Waln, Jr., contributed most substantially, although the nine volumes are generally known as Sanderson's *Lives of the Signers*.

The Influence of Artists

A powerful influence, although exerted unconsciously, but destined to be permanent, was that of the artists, especially of the great portrait painters of that day. Our grandsires as well as ourselves owe a debt to them that is incalculable. We would know but little of the features, countenances, dress, and mien of the departed, were it not that canvases have kept their images alive. "A good portrait or even an indifferent one, if none better can be had, is as a lighted candle with which to read biography," wrote Thomas Carlyle to Dr. Jowett. When Sir David Wilkie was in Spain, an aged monk, pointing to a portrait from the brush of Velasquez, said: "That pic-

* The original Ms. of Marshall's *Life of Washington* is in the possession of the Society.

ture is a reality, while all the generations that have gazed on it are but shadows."

The names of Charles Willson Peale, Joseph Wright, Robert Edge Pine, Edward Savage, John Trumbull, Adolph Ulric Wertmüller, Gilbert Stuart, Rembrandt Peale, James Peale, James Sharples, and Thomas Sully, all of whom are represented on our walls, are alone sufficient to remind us of Washington, Franklin, Hamilton, Robert Morris, Lafayette, Anthony Wayne, Thomas McKean, Thomas Mifflin, Thomas Jefferson, Martha Washington, Abigail Adams, Elizabeth Hamilton (née Schuyler), Betsy Randolph (née Nicholas), and of the host, now invisible in the flesh, of their contemporaries, both men and women, who thronged the levees of Mrs. Washington or the parlors of Mrs. Bingham.

These were the people who had in part created an America. There was inspiration, too, in the still living presence, in 1824, of Adams and Jefferson and Charles Carroll of Carrollton; of John Marshall, then Chief Justice of the United States, but who had suffered as a captain all the hardships at Valley Forge; of the venerable Judge Richard Peters, of Belmont Mansion, who had served in the Continental Congress at the head of the Board of War; and of Charles Thomson, from 1774 to 1789 the incomparable secretary of the Continental Congress. Then too there were reminders of Penn and Logan, which fell from the lips of Deborah Logan as she arranged their correspondence; and also of David Lloyd and Andrew Hamilton. In this way the present linked itself with the Colonial past, and led to happy auguries in the conversations of the Wistar Parties and the chats in the bookshops of Robert Bell and Mathew Carey. It is not an improbable conjecture that the question must have arisen: Where are the documents, the letters, the books, the miniatures, the relics that enshrined these and other venerated names?

Another distinct influence was to be found in the War of 1812, preceded by the planning and modeling of the ships—the *Constitution*, the *President*, the *United States*, the *Constellation* and the *Chesapeake*—by Joshua Humphreys of Philadelphia. The War of 1812 revealed us as a nation triumphant on the sea and the lakes over the navy of Great Britain. The

The Influence of Survivors of the Revolution

The Influence of the War of 1812

news of the victories of Hull in the *Constitution* over the *Guerrière*, of Bainbridge in the same ship over the *Java*, of Stewart in the same ship over the *Cyane* and *Levant*, of Jones in the *Wasp* over the *Frolic*, of Decatur in the *United States* over the *Macedonian*, of MacDonough on Lake Champlain, and of Perry on Lake Erie, stirred to the very depths the bosoms of the men and women of that day. The shifting features of the battles of Niagara, of Chippewa, Lundy's Lane and of Tippecanoe, darkened by the burning of the Capitol at Washington, were irradiated finally by the victory of Jackson at New Orleans.

Behind these events, so glorious in themselves, lay the growing consciousness of the strength of the young but potentially giant nation, a Hercules in his cradle. The War of 1812 had aroused a national self-consciousness. The *Constitution*—"Old Ironsides"—and her sisters had "awakened in the American people a dawning realization of latent powers; of growing strength to defend, of increasing might, if need be, to chastise." These ships of war, "broad-sided with deep-mouthed cannon, clothed aloft in proud panoply of full bosomed canvas," beneath a victorious flag, became "symbols of unvisioned history. The *Constitution* was an idol, the people her idolaters."

Once more did the artists, especially Stuart, appear and perpetuate the faces of the heroes of the navy and of the army. The brush of Birch depicted the fights upon the water; but the skill, as engravers, of St. Mémin, Bridport and David Edwin—the last named an American Bartolozzi—multiplied through the illustrated magazines the popular knowledge of men, women and events.

The Duty of the Hour to Collect

It became a pressing inquiry: Where are the documents, the letters, the books, the swords, the medals that commemorated these times? These questions must have occurred repeatedly. In the absence of satisfactory answers further questions would arise: Was it not wise, while yet there was time, to look for and assemble them in some safe repository? Was it not a sacred debt to the dead, and an equally sacred duty to their children? In private hands they were scattered, and,

moreover, exposed to fire, dampness, decay and the ravages of vermin.

Such thoughts, and the suggestions they led to, must not be attributed to the founders of this Society as peculiar to themselves. We cannot claim for them either originality of plan or priority of action. We claim for them and their action no exclusive merit, beyond that as men of initiative and outlook at a time when conditions were favorable to action, they were wise enough and bold enough to act, in spite of the failure some years before of a notable effort to establish such an enterprise. They stood in close association, either as members, or as related by blood to members of those groups of educators, scholars, scientists, book-lovers and patrons of art and letters, who were actively in charge of the University of Pennsylvania, the American Philosophical Society, the Philadelphia Library, the Athenaeum, the Academy of Natural Sciences, the Franklin Institute, the Academy of Fine Arts, between whom there was a happy community of sentiments and of interest.

They had before them the examples set in six sister states—Massachusetts, New York, Maine, Rhode Island, Ohio and New Hampshire—provocative of emulation. All these states had chartered historical societies. Between 1792 and 1824, the Massachusetts Historical Society had published two series of *Collections*, in nineteen volumes, small octavo, consisting of weekly and monthly issues, at first of but few pages each, expanding into quarterlies of larger size, but making when bound together each year substantial books. The New York society, between 1811 and 1821, had published three volumes of *Collections*, of impressive bulk, in small octavo. The contents, as might be expected, were primarily of immediate relation to their own respective origins as colonies. The New Hampshire Society published a single volume of *Collections* in 1824. The societies in Maine, Rhode Island and Ohio, did not publish anything until after our Society had become well established.

*Examples
Set by
Other
States*

There is no evidence of any direct influence of the Massachusetts activities upon the minds of our founders, although it is not improbable, in view of the close associations, epistolary and otherwise, between Bostonians and Philadelphians of lit-

erary and historical proclivities, that some knowledge, however imperfect, had filtered southwards. Literature of all kinds has migratory habits. There is positive evidence, however, that the ardor and eloquence of DeWitt Clinton, then Governor of New York, and active in the affairs of the Historical Society of New York, had warmed the mind of the youthful George Washington Smith, one of our founders, while he was visiting in New York in the early part of the year 1824.* It is clear that there was an atmospheric condition favorable to the establishment of a historical society in our midst that enveloped our founders in our natal year.

* See *post*, Chapter IV.

CHAPTER III

Some Circumstances of Discouragement

Favorable Direct Influences — A Bill to Sell the State House and to Cut Up Independence Square into Building Lots — Purchase by the City of Philadelphia — Connection between the American Philosophical Society and The Historical Society of Pennsylvania — Effort on the Part of the Former to Establish a Committee of History — Its Failure — Direct Influence of Notable Events in 1824 upon the Formation of The Historical Society — Steps toward a Washington Monument — The Visit to Philadelphia of Lafayette — The Penn Dinner

IN the preceding chapter we have noted marked indications of an expanding interest in national and state affairs, and the spreading of an atmosphere favorable to the formation of a historical society. We must now notice some circumstances indicative of public sluggishness, but happily of no ill consequence. Like back eddies in a flowing current, they checked but did not stop the flow.

The state capital having been removed from Philadelphia, via Lancaster, to Harrisburg, and funds being required for a new state capitol building, Governor Snyder, on March 18, 1816, signed an act passed by the legislature offering for public sale Independence Hall with the Liberty Bell as an unmentioned fixture, and proposing the cutting up of the State House Yard into building lots.* Strange to say there is no evidence whatever of any civic storm of protest. There are no volumes of debates in either senate or house for that year, and the *Journals* merely disclose the various stages of the bill. The daily and weekly newspapers were silent, except *Poulson's American Daily Advertiser* for March 6, 1816, which contained only the following announcement:

Pennsylvania Legislature.

The Bill, directing the Sale of the State House, and State House Yard, passed the Lower House, finally on Saturday last, by a majority of twenty. It contains a provision, offering the premises to the City at \$70,000.

*A Bill to
Sell The
State House
and to Cut
Up Inde-
pendence
Square*

Proviso

* Act of March 18, 1816, P.L., 109-12.

*Purchase by
the City of
Philadelphia*

*Comments
of Mr.
Justice
Mitchell*

That proviso saved the day, for the city happily exercised its option. This incident, which might have proved a tragedy, remained uncommented on until as late as 1891, when Mr. Justice Mitchell of the Supreme Court, in the case of *Society of Cincinnati's Appeal*,* characterized it as "a sad illustration of the want of reverence for historical and patriotic associations in our people at that time. . . . Notably does it illustrate the growth of national and patriotic sentiment, that, while I am writing this review of the Act of 1816, the Liberty Bell, which was not thought worth mention in it, but left to be sold as old lumber within the walls and rafters of Independence Hall, is making a triumphant journey, in a special train with a special guard, to the gathering of nations at Chicago, and at every stopping place, by day or by night meeting a spontaneous outpouring of love and pride and veneration not accorded to any ruler in the world."

It is strange how some public acts fail to startle at the time of their occurrence, and how soon they are forgotten when the hour of real danger has passed.

*Connection
Between the
American
Philosophi-
cal Society
and the
Historical
Society
of Penn-
sylvania*

In striking and refreshing contrast to the public apathy just noticed, there is abundant and authentic proof of the awakening of a new spirit among the intelligentsia in the realization of a need for serious historical labors. A determined struggle in that direction was made in the American Philosophical Society nine years before the founding of this Society. Had it met with continuous success there would have been no room for another and distinct enterprise. An account of these earlier highly honorable exertions, which resulted in the production of an interesting and valuable volume, is an appropriate as well as an indispensable prelude to the steps taken in the formation of this Society. In fact the efforts of the older society merged gradually into those of the younger body, which in time acquired a considerable part of that material on which the expectations of the older body had been based. The close connection between these two societies has been maintained for a century. At the present time eight of our own officers and more than fifty of our members are members of the older body, three of them being officers in both,

* 154 *Penna. State Rep.* 635.

while, with but few exceptions, all of the Philadelphia members of the older society are members of our own.

At a meeting of the American Philosophical Society, held March 17, 1815, it was resolved to add to the six existing committees a seventh, to be denominated "the Committee of History, Moral Science, and General Literature." Until that time, the physical and mathematical sciences had been the almost exclusive subjects of their labors. It was then thought that the sphere of exertion might be usefully enlarged by turning attention to those sciences which might be called "moral," in contradistinction to those which had the material world for their object. Within that circle, the history of America in general, and of Pennsylvania in particular, was pointed out to the committee by special resolution of the society as an object claiming their immediate regard. The task was committed to it of collecting as many as possible of the public and private documents scattered in various hands through the Union, with leave to publish, from time to time, such selections from them as might, in the opinion of the committee, be interesting to the public, and of use to the future historian.

*Efforts of
the Philo-
sophical
Society to
Establish a
Committee
of History*

The original minutes, the letter books and the publications of the committee show that they lost no time and spared no efforts for seven or eight years in the active prosecution of these purposes.* On May 8, 1815, there being present William Rawle, William Tilghman, William Short, Peter S. Du Ponceau, Correa de Serra, the Portuguese Minister, John Vaughan, William Meredith, Nathaniel Chapman and Caspar Wistar, the committee organized and chose Chief Justice Tilghman as its chairman, Du Ponceau as its corresponding secretary, and John Vaughan as recording secretary. On Du Ponceau was imposed the suggestion of a plan of operations; on Correa, the suggestion of queries to be circulated; on Wistar, the suggestion of a mode of procuring biographical information.

*The Minute
Book of the
Committee*

On August 15, the committee published an address to their fellow citizens, calling for communications respecting inter-

* These documents and books are in the Library of the Philosophical Society.

*Address of
the Com-
mittee to
the Public*

esting points in the history of the state in reference to the aborigines, Indian languages, Indian treaties, emigrations from the countries contributing to the population, the history and peculiar tenets and rules of discipline of the different religious sects established in Pennsylvania; everything relating to William Penn and his first associates, their history in Europe and in this country, their political opinions and views of civil government and policy, illustrating the foundations on which were laid the prosperity and happiness then enjoyed. The appeal was not limited to the bounds of any particular state, but to the citizens of the United States at large, and invited zealous co-operation from those members of the Philosophical Society residing in parts remote from Philadelphia.

*The Corre-
spondence of
Du Ponceau*

The call proved to be too general, and produced but few results. A more direct method was then adopted to obtain the desired aid. An extensive correspondence with individuals, not only in Pennsylvania, but in other states, was resorted to, the burden of which fell upon the indefatigable Du Ponceau. His letter books, three in number, contain 188 letters between the dates of November 14, 1815, and October 28, 1826, being far more numerous during the earliest three years. They are addressed to forty-two carefully selected correspondents both at home and abroad, the name of Thomas Jefferson appearing fourteen times, and that of the Reverend John Heckewelder nine times. To the first, he appealed as "a friend to American Science and Literature," beseeching him to exert his "influence on the literary characters and well informed citizens of the State in which you reside . . . and as there is not yet in that State any establishment or institution professing the same objects with those of this Committee, it is to be hoped that those possessed of interesting public papers or private letters . . . will be disposed to avail themselves of the opportunity which now offers of rendering the papers or knowledge which they possess permanently useful to Society."

*With
Jefferson*

*With
Hecke-
welder*

To Heckewelder, he appealed as "a man of learning and information . . . whose vast knowledge respecting the Indians which have inhabited this part of the country" enabled him to communicate to the Committee accounts of "their numbers, origin, migration, connections with each other, the

parts which they took in the English and French wars and in the Revolutionary war, their manners, customs, languages, religion, in short, everything which you may conceive interesting on a subject which at no distant period will be involved in obscurity and doubt."

To Benjamin R. Morgan, then recently chosen a state senator from Philadelphia, he appealed for copies of state records and the senate and house *Journals*, as well as *Acts of Assembly*. To Joseph Hopkinson and John Sergeant, members of Congress from Philadelphia, he wrote for copies of similar congressional documents. To Dr. David Hosack, President of the Historical Society of New York, and to the Reverend Joseph McKean, D.D., Secretary of the Massachusetts Historical Society, he wrote, inviting correspondence and promising reciprocal co-operation.

*With Public
Men*

To His Excellency Mahlon Dickerson, Esq., Governor of New Jersey, he wrote in a similar strain, using words which indicate his grasp of the subject in hand and his dread of inaction. "How many noble deeds of noble nations are lost and unknown to the world for want of having been recorded by the pen of the faithful Historian? and how can the Historian himself perform his task with honor and credit if the materials for his work are not collected and preserved for him, before all devouring time has blotted from the memory of men those interesting details, which alone can give the key to the true causes of public events?"

To Alexander Graydon, the author of Graydon's *Memoirs*, to Isaac Darlington of West Chester, to William Graham of Chester, to Charles Thomson, the venerable Secretary of the Continental Congress, to Dr. George Logan of Stenton, to Deborah Logan, to Elias Boudinot, he addressed eloquent appeals, displaying tact, judgment and good taste, with a surprising knowledge of the kind of material or assistance that each correspondent was best fitted to furnish.

Viewing the correspondence as a whole, it is indeed a remarkable performance, especially as coming from the pen of a French-American, who came to the country in the shuddering days of Valley Forge as an interpreter on the staff of Baron Steuben who spoke no English. There is nothing perfunctory

*Character-
istics of the
Corre-
spondence*

in the frame-work of the letters, nor were they mere adaptations of a common model. Each was shaped and polished by a master hand, and expressed with the exquisite delicacy of an educated Frenchman who knew how to flatter greatness or cajole weaknesses without arousing suspicion of his artfulness. The results of the industry and glowing urgency of the corresponding secretary were disclosed in a report of the Historical Committee to the American Philosophical Society, presented on January 9, 1818, by the 'chairman, William Tilghman.

*Jefferson's
Gifts to the
American
Philosophi-
cal Society*

Thomas Jefferson, who, after years of service, had just been succeeded in the presidency of the American Philosophical Society by Dr. Caspar Wistar, instead of lavishing his gifts, as he might well have done, upon the University of Virginia, yielded to the persuasiveness of Mr. Du Ponceau and proved to be a veritable benefactor. He wrote numerous letters full of information, and gave many important manuscript documents, calculated to throw light on the history of the country, on the customs, manners and languages of the Indian nations, and various other interesting national subjects. In particular, he directed to be placed in the hands of the committee the then unedited manuscript volumes of scientific notes and observations by Messrs. Lewis and Clark, made in the course of their epoch making expedition from the Mississippi to the Pacific Ocean. He even presented the copy of the Declaration of Independence in his own handwriting which he had sent to Richard Henry Lee, and had rescued from Lee's custody.

*Gifts of
Dr. Logan*

Dr. George Logan of Stenton proved to be a zealous and useful friend. He opened the treasures of his family archives, containing a great number of interesting documents relating to colonial Pennsylvania, not the least valuable of which was the familiar correspondence which was carried on for many years between William Penn, Hannah Penn, his widow, and James Logan, the doctor's grandfather, who was, as is well known, the confidential friend as well as official secretary of the Proprietor.

A special tribute of thanks was paid to the Reverend John Heckewelder of Bethlehem, who, as missionary, had resided

among the Indians for forty years, and possessed intimate knowledge of their languages and manners. He communicated a manuscript grammar of the Lenni Lenape or Delaware Indians, written in German by the Reverend David Zeisberger, the author of a copious vocabulary of the same language, which the committee had translated into English.

*Gift of
Hecke-
welder*

From Redmond Conyngham, a member of the legislature, there had been obtained "with much labor and some expense" from the office of the secretary of the commonwealth, copies and extracts of the most interesting records of the executive branch of the government anterior to the American Revolution. From William Rawle the committee procured original letters of William Penn to one of Rawle's ancestors, Robert Turner, also diplomatic instructions for an embassy to New Jersey, the original of a remonstrance to Governor Markham, an original proclamation by William Penn, and several printed documents; from Joseph Parker Norris, several curious and interesting manuscript documents relative to the early history of the state; from Judge John D. Coxe, Joseph Reed, James Robertson and the Reverend Dr. William Rogers, many scarce books and pamphlets, "indispensably necessary for a correct knowledge of the history of that period."

*Gifts from
Individuals*

Thus ran the record for several years; the committee, or rather its secretary, pursuing the same course with unabated ardor. Then came a check to the current of activity, the minutes shrinking in volume, and the attendance upon the meetings of the committee perceptibly dwindling, the older members being irregular and the newer members fitfully appearing and disappearing. Finally, in August, 1820, the minutes ceased. There was a spasmodic revival in 1840, but it was feeble and soon expired. With this period we are not concerned.

*Failure of
the Com-
mittee to
Function*

What was the cause of this gradual decay, and fatal suspension in 1820? The minutes furnish evidence on which to base a probable conjecture. It is indisputable that the work of the committee was largely done by a single man—Du Ponceau—and that man, through his correspondence with Heckewelder and his penchant for the languages, became more and more absorbed in special investigations. He became

*Causes of
the Failure*

wedded to philology. The proof of his first entanglement appears in his "Report," in 1819, of his "Progress in the Investigation . . . of the General Character and Forms of the Languages of the American Indians," printed in the first volume of *Transactions of the Historical and Literary Committee of the American Philosophical Society*, as a prelude to Heckewelder's work; the proof of his complete surrender appears in his "Treatise upon the Chinese Tongue," which was the last output of the committee, printed as Volume II of the *Transactions* in 1833.

Du Ponceau's Explanation These labors, which were heavy and unusual, besides his professional duties which were engrossing, will be referred to in a future chapter, when we are viewing Du Ponceau as the second president of this Society. Let it here suffice to quote from his own lips a single passage, whose closing words sound a note of disappointment. In a *Discourse on the Early History of Pennsylvania*, delivered before the American Philosophical Society, in 1821, his opening words were these: "Six years have elapsed since a committee was instituted in the bosom of this Society, whose labors were principally directed to the object of making researches into the history and antiquities of America, but more particularly of our own state. This committee have not been remiss in their exertions; with the aid of several of their zealous and patriotic fellow citizens (whose names and services have been gratefully recorded) they have succeeded in collecting ample and precious materials, which only wait for the hand of the artist to work them into shape. It was hoped that the impulse thus given would have been caught by some able writer, who, availing himself of these rich stores, would have combined the scattered facts into a faithful and elegant narrative. But our expectations have hitherto been deceived, and Pennsylvania still wants an historian."

Rawle's Explanation William Rawle, himself a member of the American Philosophical Society, and later the first president of this Society, in his inaugural address in commenting on the failure deplored by Du Ponceau declared: "The radical defect is, that it [the committee] consists only of those who are themselves members of the Philosophical Society [a body of severely restricted

membership], and no one can be associated in the Committee who is not a member of the Society. Fewer interests are therefore combined, and the public looks on them with indifference." *

Aside from the special reasons just given, our deliberate conclusion is that the real work of the American Philosophical Society was, as it had long been, and still is, in the physical and mathematical sciences. It was in devotion to these that it had won its unique position among the learned bodies of the world, and it has been by persistent devotion to these that this proud position has been maintained. The Historical Committee was but a graft upon an uncongenial trunk, and it withered from lack of proper nutritive contact. The experiment of converting a committee into an institution had failed. Thus was another proof added to the many already noticed, of the urgent need of a society exclusively devoted to the cause of history.

*Conjectural
Conclusion*

It remained but to fire with enthusiasm the minds of those intellectually convinced. The kindling events were at hand, events constituting historic revivals of "the brave days of old."

As early as July 4, 1810, the state society of the Cincinnati had determined "to establish a permanent memorial of their respect for the memory of the late Father of his Country, General George Washington, by the erection of a monument in the City of Philadelphia" which had long been "the wish of those who are desirous of perpetuating the recollection of his virtues." A committee was appointed and entered upon the task of raising funds, success being retarded by the War of 1812-15. Later, the project was resumed, and, by June, 1823, had so far proceeded that councils, upon the petition of the officers in charge of what had become generally known as the Citizen's Washington Monument Fund, authorized the construction of a monument in Washington Square and approved of the plan, designed by William Strickland, modeled after the famous choragic monument of Thrasybulus at Athens, to be of a height of one hundred and twenty feet, at an estimated cost of sixty-seven thousand dollars, a notable sum in those days.†

*The
Washington
Monument*

* Rawle's address—*Memoirs of The Historical Society of Pennsylvania*, I, 21-78.

† *Ordinances of Councils of Philadelphia*, 1823.

*The Visit of
Lafayette
in 1824*

Then came the arrival of Lafayette, at New York, on the morning of August 15, 1824, revisiting America in his sixty-sixth year, on the invitation of Congress and President Monroe, seconded by a cordial and informal letter. Forty-seven years had passed since he had joined Washington, to shed his blood at Brandywine and share the hardships of Valley Forge. "Cannon rocked the land and States vied with States for the honor of his presence; while behind the world of 1824 another world was faintly shadowed, peopled with those who had known and loved Lafayette the youth, who had served with him in battle and shivered with him in camp."

*The Procession and
Ceremonies*

On September 28, he entered Philadelphia, after reviewing in Rush's field, near Kensington, six thousand troops under the command of General Thomas Cadwalader. With the venerable Judge Peters beside him, he rode in an open barouche, lined with cream colored cloth, trimmed with the Continental colors of buff and blue, drawn by six cream colored horses glittering with silver, the postilions, the driver and outriders brave in Continental uniforms and white topped boots. For one week—September 28 to October 5—the city abandoned itself to festivities. There were military processions, in which the surviving soldiers of the Revolution appeared; there were civic processions, and trade displays, printers, cordwainers, weavers, ropemakers, coopers, blacksmiths, firemen and butchers vying with the militia. The First Troop of City Cavalry, and citizens under the leadership of the governor, the senators, assemblymen, the judges of the supreme court and lesser tribunals, the mayor, aldermen and councilmen, all wound their way past crowded sidewalks, beneath decorated windows bright with women, and roofs and chimney tops black with men and boys, to Independence Hall, before which stood a triumphal arch. There were dinners and balls, a reception at the Chew house in Germantown and garden fêtes. The windows of private dwellings in the city were illuminated at night by candles in home-made clay receptacles, saucer shaped, of which specimens still exist, one of them being among the curios of the Society. The Masons, at their dinner, yielded the palm to none: "A stratagem was made use of with the Gas Lights, which perfectly astonished every

beholder." There were odes, addresses and souvenirs; cotton handkerchiefs picturing the triumphant scene at Independence Hall printed at Germantown, white kid gloves stamped with portraits of Lafayette, "Lafayette Snuff-boxes," "Lafayette Stocks," "Lafayette Cravats" and "Lafayette Flasks" for brandy. There were blessings at Christ Church from Bishop White, once the chaplain of the Continental Congress; salutations from Commodore Barron at the Navy Yard. There were banquet speeches and toasts—Lafayette contributing—"To the Immortal Memory of Washington," and also "The Memories of Penn and Franklin, the one never greater than when arraigned before an English jury, or the other, when before a British Parliament."

Who can doubt the effect of such a patriotic awakening upon even the most sedate of the founders?

One more event, in this teeming period, and the circle of inspirational influences is complete. A paper dated "Philada. 23rd Oct. 1824" reads as follows:

We the subscribers agree to dine together on the 4th. day of November next (24th. Oct^r. O. S.) at the house formerly occupied by William Penn in Letitia Court, at 4 o'clock P.M. in order to commemorate the 142nd anniversary of the landing of our great founder, in the Year 1682.

*A Penn
Dinner*

The subscribers were Joseph S. Lewis, Robert Wharton, Peter S. Du Ponceau, Z. Collins, Roberts Vaux, John Read, Jos. P. Norris, Nichol. Collin, Joseph Watson, John Bacon, Rich^d. Peters, Jr., W. Meredith, Thomas Biddle, B. R. Morgan, Geo. Vaux, Z. Poulson, T. I. Wharton, John F. Watson. The original, with the autograph signatures attached, was preserved by Mr. Watson with the manuscript of his *Annals*, and is now in the possession of this Society. The Society also possesses the original of the invitation addressed to Roberts Vaux, Esqr., reading as follows:

The Subscribers to the dinner in commemoration of the landing of William Penn, will meet at his former dwelling, now Doyle's hotel, at the head of Letitia Court on 5th day (Thursday) the 4th Inst., at 3 o'clock P.M.

An address will be delivered previous to dinner. Nov. (11th month), 3, 1824.

On "11 Mo. 30, 1824," Roberts Vaux wrote from Arch Street to John F. Watson, Germantown:

Our *Penn Dinner* has made a great stir, & is very popular. The Historical Soc'y. will go on, & in short a new current of feeling seems to have set in, highly creditable to Penna. past, present & to come.

With great truth I salute thee with friendship.

The occasion was noticed in *Poulson's American Daily Advertiser*, December 10, 1824, in the following words:

*Press Notice
of the Penn
Dinner*

An offering of gratitude has been made in Philadelphia to the memory of the great founder of that City, WILLIAM PENN. Mr. Du Ponceau, a man well known in the literary world, for his profound researches, and acute reasonings, on many subjects of interest, connected with the history and character of our country, has lately aroused the attention of the people of his own state by an address full of the fire of the patriot and the taste of the scholar. On the 4th. of November last, several gentlemen assembled at a Tavern in Philadelphia, which was once the dwelling house of William Penn, who landed on the shores of America, one hundred and forty two years since. He was, indeed, a great man—the purest and noblest law giver that the annals of history can produce. His administration was the only golden age which did not be-

long to fable. In his government there was no fraud nor crime. He met the aborigines, and taught them practically to change their instruments of war for the arts of peace. He showed them how lovely was the spirit of harmony and good-will. He wore no sword, and they buried the blood-stained tomahawk in good faith. Such a man deserves to have an altar erected to his memory, and we rejoice that the first sacrifice has been offered by a priest worthy the sacred office. There is a love of country which has a hallowed cast, from commingling thankfulness for blessings, with the memory of the mighty dead, and this is bursting forth in every part of the country. We claim our share of this 'amor patriae.' . . .

We are among those who believe there is inspiration in these things, and our creed is that a man who can tread over the ashes of the dead with indifference, and contemplate the deeds of other times without emotion, cannot be a patriot or hero.

In this and the preceding chapters we have reviewed successively the various influences—intellectual, moral, political, physical, emotional or inspirational—operating upon the founders, and so far analyzed them as to enable us to breathe the atmosphere inhaled by them from their surroundings.

CHAPTER IV

The Founding of the Society

Earlier State Historical Societies — Origin of Our Society — Preliminary Steps — Traditions — Written Evidence — First Meeting — Organization — The Charter Granted — Charter Members

IT is agreeable to think that this Society sprang not from the whims of age, the coddling of statesmen or the wet nursing of a college, but from the spontaneous activity of young, earnest and busy minds. Strictly speaking, it did not represent the dawning of historic consciousness among us, for the light had been slowly but surely breaking through the influences which we have analyzed in preceding chapters. Nor was it the first effort to organize that consciousness. That had been attempted, as we have seen, through the Historical and Literary Committee of the American Philosophical Society. That effort failed because grafted upon an unsympathetic stock, or rather upon a trunk whose sap was so largely needed in the production of its native fruit that the supply even generously furnished to a promising and cherished bud was insufficient to bring it to ripeness.

*Our Older
Sister
Societies*

Nor was this Society, as has been stated, the first of its kind in this country.* Massachusetts, New York, Maine, Rhode Island, Ohio, and New Hampshire, in the order given, were all our elder sisters, the four last named being but slightly senior to ourselves. It is not surprising that such should have been the case, for those states, with the exception of Ohio, were all many years earlier as original settlements than Pennsylvania; moreover, they were largely homogeneous in blood and creed. Those diversities of race and sect, which, when harmonized under the benevolent institutions of Penn, became our glory, were at the outset conditions which retarded the formation of a community of sentiment and state pride.

* See *ante*, Chapter II.

John William Wallace has given effective expression to this thought. In his address at the opening of our new Hall in 1872, he said: "One cause why no state historical society ever existed among us until late times, may be found, I suppose, in the diversity of nations which filled our early province. Unlike the composition of primitive Massachusetts or Virginia—where all were English and all of one religion—the early population of Pennsylvania was singularly heterogeneous. . . . The people on *our* soil therefore were not only different people, but they had been warring ones, and hostile. Nor was this diversity an ethnological one alone. Religious oppositions marked it when national ones began to disappear." *

*Explanation
of 'our
Retarded
Birth*

*Wallace's
Views*

In fact so marked was the variety of nations and religions in Pennsylvania that Edmund Burke, in 1761, in his *Account of the European Settlements in America*, said: "Pennsylvania is inhabited by upwards of 250,000 people, half of whom are Germans, Swedes, or Dutch. . . . Here you see Quakers, Churchmen, Calvinists, Methodists, Menists, Moravians, Independents, Anabaptists, and Dumplers, a sort of German sect that live in something like a religious society, wear long beards, and a habit resembling that of friars. In short, the diversity of people, religions, nations, and languages here is prodigious."

*Burke's
Views*

Time was required to reduce these complexities. No wonder then was it, that our northern sisters preceded us in the formation of historical societies.

The successive steps taken in the actual formation of our own Society can be readily traced, although the evidence, at first sight, is inharmonious. As is usual in such cases, social discussion at the houses of individuals preceded action, and that discussion seems to have run on for a year.

*Origin of
Historical
Society of
Pennsyl-
vania*

On the *verso* of the blank page facing the first page of Volume I of the original minutes of this Society, the following note appears in the well known handwriting of the late Townsend Ward:

* See *post*, Vol. I of this *History*, Chapter XXV.

An informal meeting, perhaps nearly a year prior to the meeting of Decr: 2nd, 1824, was held at the office of George Washington Smith on the West side of Sixth St. below [above?] Walnut Street. This was the first meeting at which the establishment of a Historical Society was distinctly proposed, and it led to the formal meeting the minutes of which appear on the following pages.

Mr. Ward's
Note

I wrote this from Mr. Smith's account, read it to him, and he approved of it.

Townsend Ward,
Secretary, 1874.

Mr.
Wallace's
Account

This note is confirmatory and independent evidence in accord with a declaration by John William Wallace, in his *Discourse Pronounced on the Inauguration of the New Hall*, March 11, 1872, in the actual presence in his audience of George Washington Smith, who on that occasion shared with Dr. Coates, also present, the honors due to the only surviving founders: "The origin of our own Society I learn was on this wise: In 1824 a gentleman of our city, himself honorably associated with names historic in the state and province, happened, while visiting New York, to be thrown into relations of intimacy with the late De Witt Clinton, then governor of that state. The New York Historical Society was at the time a subject of public interest in our sister city. Mr. Clinton's regard for the institution was always warm and active. He spoke much of it to his visitor; unfolded its plans and objects, expatiated eloquently on its prospects and usefulness. Our friend, upon returning to Philadelphia, suggested to certain citizens the formation of a similar society among ourselves. The suggestion was well received." * A footnote to Mr. Wallace's published address gives the name of Mr. Smith as the "friend" referred to.

In a paper commemorative of Benjamin Hornor Coates, by Dr. James J. Levick, read before this Society in 1882, and published in Volume VI of *The Pennsylvania Magazine*, the following passage occurs:

* See *post*, Vol. I of this *History*, Chapter XXV.



William Penn at the Age of Twenty-two
Presented by Granville Penn. Artist unknown

In the interesting address of President Wallace, delivered on the opening of the new hall of this Society March 11, 1872, it is stated that the first meeting of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania was held in the parlor of Thomas I. Wharton. The statement is doubtless correct, but the venerable widow of Roberts Vaux, who still lives—a beautiful example of a bright, intelligent, genial old age—assures me that it was in her parlors, now 1132 Arch Street, that the Historical Society originated; that she distinctly remembers the occasion, and the evening in which it was formed. The gentlemen named were engaged in social conversation, at her house, when Roberts Vaux called their attention to a notice of the annual dinner of 'The Sons of New England,' which a day or two before had been held, and he then said, 'We should have such a Society among us,' a suggestion which was cordially approved and promptly acted on. The name of 'The Sons of the Soil' was first proposed for it, but was objected to as being 'too clannish,' and the much more appropriate name of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania was then, or later, adopted. This statement is, without doubt, correct, and it is equally true that the first formal, official meeting was held at the house of Thomas I. Wharton.

*Dr. Levick's
Account*

Our late fellow member, Miss Anne Hollingsworth Wharton, to whose graceful and accurate pen we owe so much for pictures and incidents of Colonial and Republican salons, seen through Colonial doorways flooded with the mellow light of Colonial days, and brightened by the charms of Colonial dames, has informed the writer that Mrs. Vaux (an aged woman) on several occasions told her of this meeting at her house in words substantially similar to those stated by Dr. Levick,

*Miss
Wharton's
Statement*

*The Vaux
Tradition*

The Vaux tradition was strong in the family. On April 30, 1894, the Honorable Richard Vaux, a son of Roberts Vaux, presented to this Society the original model for a monument to mark the site of the treaty elm at Shackamaxon, accompanied by a letter, in which he said: "My father had the model made over half a century ago. Unsuccessful efforts to secure the erection of the monument induced him to organize the Historical Society of Pennsylvania."

*Criticism
of these
Accounts*

Let us be cautious in this matter. The son, in 1894, was relying on family tradition, and we are thrown back on Mrs. Vaux's statements to Dr. Levick and to Miss Wharton. We cannot safely accept the recollection of Mrs. Vaux as strictly accurate in detail, but are driven by the written evidence to suggest a lapse of memory on her part as to the date, and as to the character and finality of the action taken at her house, matters in which the best of memories can slip when the events are long past, particularly if the witness be aged. Mr. Ward's note of Mr. Smith's statement, which, although it lacks particularity as to the individuals present, can be accepted at its face value that the matter of the formation of a Society was under discussion about a year prior to final action. The statement of Mrs. Vaux is in substance corroborative of this, if the incident be changed in date and the finality of action be stricken out. Moreover, if taken literally, it would lead to the supposition that a social conversation was interrupted by a chance reference to a prior New England dinner, and that this, on the suggestion of Mr. Vaux, ripened on the instant into a solemn official act. This is highly improbable. Doubtless, the matter of the formation of the Society, which had been long under discussion was again discussed and approved, but action deferred. This is highly probable. Plainly, it must be so, for otherwise the statement is self destructive, if we are to be bound by Dr. Levick's account. A dinner of the Sons of New England in annual celebration of the Landing of the Pilgrims—the only event in New England history so celebrated in this community—would be on December 20, and not a day or two *before* December 2, which is the date fixed as the day on which our Society was founded according to the incontestable record of the official minutes. Moreover, if the

action was taken at the house of Mr. Vaux, how could Mr. Smith, who was the secretary appointed at the first meeting, and in whose handwriting the minutes were kept, be mistaken as to the place? The official minutes read as follows:

Minutes

First Meeting

Philadelphia.

*The Evi-
dence of the
Minutes*

At a meeting of gentlemen, native citizens of Pennsylvania, favourable to the formation of a Society for the purpose of elucidating the history of the State, held on the Second day of December, 1824, at the house of Thomas I. Wharton.

This is conclusive evidence of the date and place. That the matter of the formation of a Society had been long and seriously in the mind of Mr. Vaux is best established by Mr. Vaux himself. In the manuscript of the *Annals* of John F. Watson, now in the possession of this Society, the following correspondence has been preserved.

Arch St. 9 mo. 28, 1824

Esteemed Friend,

*Letter of
Roberts
Vaux*

For some time past I have been endeavouring to interest our intelligent *Phil^a. & Penn^a.* fellow citizens, with a plan for an *Historical Society*, which can devote itself exclusively to this too long neglected subject. The proposal is gaining friends, & promises to succeed. It will be composed of men in the vigor of life, & intellect, from whom labour may be expected, & such must be brought to the task if Penn^a. is ever elevated in this department of literature. Is it too late to direct thy work to such a Society? It would form a starting point, & would no doubt insure the foundation of such an association, could I be at liberty to say, that thee is disposed to patronize the effort by contributing thy M.S.—

Be pleased to reflect upon this proposal, & communicate thy opinions, & views.

I wish to be understood as entertaining great respect for the Phil^o. Socy: but I know it is unequal to the department of History. . . .

I . . . remain very truly thy frd.

Roberts Vaux.

It should not be overlooked in passing, that Mr. Vaux was himself a member of the Philosophical Society.

Mr. Watson replied, in a letter of September 30, 1824, from which we extract the only pertinent passage:

*Letter of
John F.
Watson*

I shall be very glad indeed to see an *Historical Society* instituted—It is what I much desire. . . .

I have come to the views respecting my book, which I am now about to Express, to you, *by degrees*; which is, that I must prepare it for Press & *publish it*. I have been so often importuned to this without one dissenting voice, that it may prove injurious to my reputation to resist the general opinion—Such a Ms. as *must be prepared* for such an event, is, what I may bestow—and I cannot now foresee any obstacle to giving it to an Historical Society of Penna—to be formed in Philada— . . . I certainly now design the Public to be gainers by my Researches, *as the End of my labours*.

Later, under date “11 Mo. 30, 1824,” Mr. Vaux wrote Mr. Watson a letter asking for assistance in preparing an annual discourse before the Agricultural Society, the closing words of which, though previously quoted towards the end of Chapter III, may be repeated here.

Our *Penn Dinner* has made a great stir & is very popular. The Historical Socy. will go on, & in short a new current of feeling seems to have set in, highly creditable to Penna. past, present & to come.

Two days later, this happy expectation was realized. The first meeting was held on the day and at the place designated in the minutes as previously quoted. Roberts Vaux was called to the chair and Mr. Smith appointed secretary. The presence of the founders as named in the preceding chapter was noted. On motion of Mr. Wharton it was resolved, after an interchange of views: "That it is expedient to form a Society for the purpose of elucidating the history of Pennsylvania." Messrs. Wharton, Smith and Dr. Coates were appointed a committee to prepare a constitution and by-laws.

First Meeting of the Founders

The next meeting was held on December 27, pursuant to adjournment, at the apartments of the Phrenological Society in Carpenter's Court of "gentlemen favourable to the formation of a Society for the purpose of elucidating the history of the State of Pennsylvania." There were present fifteen persons, whose names unfortunately were not recorded. Mr. Vaux was in the chair, and Mr. Smith acted as secretary. The committee appointed on December 2 reported "a draught" of a constitution and by-laws, which, after some amendments, was approved. An adjournment was then taken to January 29, 1825, and again to February 21, when the resolution as to the constitution and by-laws was reconsidered.

Organization

It is clear that the little bark was not yet launched, but met with obstacles in slipping from the ways. The original objection to the name "Sons of the Soil" seems to have been disposed of, as indicated by Mrs. Vaux in the account given by Dr. Levick, prior to the first meeting, but a somewhat similar objection was raised to the narrowness of the constitution in confining membership to *native Pennsylvanians*. The minutes disclose the fact of controversy, continuing for several months, without giving particulars. Fortunately, we find a satisfactory explanation in an important contemporaneous document of twenty-four pages in the handwriting of William Rawle, endorsed—"Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 1825, Memoranda of Transactions by William Rawle, President."

The first two pages read as follows:

*Mr. Rawle's
Account*

The first I heard of the formation of an Historical Society was from my son William who mentioned that some gentlemen proposed such an institution & wished to know if I would become a member.

G. Washington Smith then called to know if I would accept the office of President.

As I had by this time understood that it was intended to be confined to natives of Pennsylvania I objected to its being placed on such a narrow basis but professed my willingness to accept the station if it was enlarged to all residents in Pennsylvania.

Soon afterwards Roberts Vaux & Mr. Smith called on me to whom I stated the same objection—and after some conversation it was agreed that the sense of the gentlemen associated should be taken as soon as possible.

I agreed in the meantime to act as President, having been (as I was told) unanimously elected to that station. A meeting was accordingly called on the ——— when I moved to amend the constitution in that & some other particulars.

*Election
of William
Rawle as
President*

There is no date to these pages, and the blank above indicated was never filled. The minutes, however, supply the omissions. On February 28, 1825, William Rawle was elected president; Roberts Vaux and Thomas Duncan, vice-presidents; Daniel B. Smith, corresponding secretary, George W. Smith, recording secretary. It was resolved that the president be requested to deliver an inaugural address at such time as he might deem convenient, and Messrs. Vaux, Wharton and Smith were appointed as a committee to wait upon him with the request.

On May 2, 1825, Mr. Rawle for the first time occupied the chair as president, there being present twenty-five members. His first act was to call Roberts Vaux to the chair, and

then, taking the floor, he presented various amendments, and moved their adoption. He also asked for authority to appoint ten special standing committees. That authority was given, but the debate on the proposed amendments, beginning May 2, was continued on May 13, August 1, September 19, October 3, and November 7—when a constitution was adopted which illustrated the truth of Burke's remark, so often substantiated, that "all government is founded on compromise and barter."

In the meantime, Daniel B. Smith resigning the office of corresponding secretary, Joseph Hopkinson was chosen; William M. Walmsley was elected treasurer, Gerard Ralston was elected curator, and a General Standing Committee—the original of the present Council—was created.

The Preamble to the constitution, although reported by a committee, consisting of the President, Roberts Vaux and Thomas I. Wharton, "to revise the Constitution and its preamble, with a view to adapt the phraseology to the amendments" which had been made to the original instrument, is clearly the work of Mr. Wharton's polished pen. It has been justly admired by all those who have read it. It is worthy of exact quotation:

The Constitution of the Society

Preamble. To collect and preserve the evidences of its own history from the earliest date, is both the duty and interest of every political society, whether its progress has been prosperous or disastrous; and to ascertain and develop the natural resources of a state, to investigate its climate, soil, progress of population and other statistical points are objects equally worthy of attention, and which demand and deserve the united efforts of all who are desirous to honour the character and advance the prosperity of their commonwealth.

Impressed with these considerations, desirous of repairing as far as possible the injuries which the early history of PENNSYLVANIA has sustained by reason of the inattention of our prede-

cessors, and believing that there is much to interest and something to instruct in the transactions of those days, when an honest, virtuous, and pious people, relinquishing their early possessions and enjoyments, laid in a wild and uncultivated country, the foundations of a State, now eminently great, successful and happy, we whose names are hereunto subjoined have united ourselves into a society, for the purpose of elucidating the civil, literary and natural history of PENNSYLVANIA, and have adopted for our government the following Constitution.

*Purpose and
Member-
ship*

The instrument consisted of eight articles: the first providing that the name should be *The Historical Society of Pennsylvania*; the second that the object should be "the elucidation of the natural, civil, and literary history of this state." The third, the one over which the long skirmish had been waged, related to membership, and provided for contributing, corresponding and honorary members. The first class was to consist of persons residing in the city of Philadelphia (a small and narrow territory in those days), or the state of Pennsylvania within ten miles of the city. The second class admitted persons residing in any other part of Pennsylvania, but no person was eligible to either of these classes "unless he be a native of Pennsylvania, or shall have been domiciliated there for the space of ten years." The honorary membership was open to persons residing in any part of America or elsewhere, and "females" might be admitted into it.

The Officers

The officers, a president, four vice-presidents, two of whom were to be inhabitants of the city or county of Philadelphia, a treasurer, a corresponding secretary, a recording secretary and a curator, were to be chosen annually, as provided in article four. Article five provided for the annual election of a Council of thirteen members, the other officers being *ex officio* members. A quorum was to consist of seven. The duty of the Council was to receive donations made to the Society, to take suitable care of the books and other property, to superintend the correspondence of the Society, to digest and

prepare business, and to execute such other duties as the Society might from time to time impose. They had power to make rules for their own government in their meetings, and were to meet at least once a month. At every quarterly meeting of the Society they were to report the acquisitions and transactions of the preceding quarter. The meetings of the Council were open to the attendance of contributing members, who might propose any matter for consideration, but without the right to vote.

Article six fixed the quarterly meetings on the first Monday of February, May, August and November, but special meetings might be called on notice. The annual election of officers and of the Council was to take place in February, and was to be by ballot. An annual discourse was to be delivered by one of the members appointed by the Council, and dissertations, connected with the general objects of the Society, might be read by any of the members at any of its meetings, strangers being admitted at the delivery of the annual discourse. Special committees might be appointed from time to time to investigate particular subjects, reporting to the Council, which had the power to select such parts as they might deem expedient to lay before the Society. The seventh article vested the power of election of all three classes of membership in the Council, such elections to be by ballot, and three negative votes would cast a candidate. The eighth article provided for amendments to the constitution, at any quarterly meeting of the Society, provided notice had been given and entered on the journal at a preceding quarterly meeting.

*Meetings
and Busi-
ness Pro-
vided for*

The preamble and these articles were signed by nineteen men, and presented to Attorney General Frederick Smith, who approved of them January 27, 1826. On the 23rd of the following March, William Tilghman, as chief justice, and John Bannister Gibson and Thomas Duncan as associate members of the supreme court of Pennsylvania certified "that we have perused and examined the above instrument, and concur with the attorney general in his opinion that the objects, articles and conditions therein set forth and contained are lawful." A certificate was attached the same day by the prothonotary of the supreme court, and the charter was

*Approval of
the Charter*

Act of Incorporation Signed by the Governor transmitted to Governor J. Andrew Shulze, who, by a very elaborate document, reciting all the steps successively taken, as well as the provisions of the Act of April 6, 1791, in his turn transmitted "the instrument of incorporation," under his hand, and the great seal of the state, to the secretary of the commonwealth, who, on the 2d of June, 1826, enrolled it at Harrisburg in Charter Book No. 4, page 82, containing a record of acts incorporating sundry literary, religious and charitable institutions.*

The Original Charter Members The nineteen subscribers, named as charter members, were William Rawle, Roberts Vaux, Joseph Hopkinson, Joseph Reed, Thomas C. James, John Sergeant, Thomas I. Wharton, Thomas H. White, Caspar Wistar, George Washington Smith, Gerard Ralston, William Mason Walmsley, Daniel B. Smith, William Rawle, Junior, Charles Jared Ingersoll, Edward Bettle, Thomas McKean Pettit, Benjamin H. Coates and William M. Meredith. It is noticeable as well as singular that the name of Stephen Duncan, one of the original seven at the first meeting of December 2, 1824, is the only one missing from the list. The writer finds his name as a member of the Council from 1825 to 1828, but thereafter his disappearance is complete. It is noticeable also, as well as gratifying, that Mr. Rawle's leadership had rallied to the support of the original seven, men distinguished as statesmen, lawyers, physicians, educators and merchants. Such is the story of our foundation.

Strange Omission of the Name of Stephen Duncan

* For amendments to the charter, see *post*, Chapters XVII, XIX, XXI, XXX, also Vol. II, Chapter VIII.

CHAPTER V

The Founders of the Society

Sketches of Roberts Vaux — Stephen Duncan — Thomas I. Wharton — William Rawle, Jr. — Benjamin H. Coates — Caspar Wistar (the 2d) — George Washington Smith — Representative Character of the Founders

IT is now pertinent to inquire, who were the founders? Of what manner of men were they? They were but seven in number, originally, but soon added to their ranks. Taking them in the order in which their names appear in the minutes of the Society as being present at the first meeting, they were Roberts Vaux, Stephen Duncan, Thomas I. Wharton, William Rawle, Jr., Dr. Benjamin H. Coates, Dr. Caspar Wistar (the Second) and George Washington Smith. Whether intentional or not, it is a singular circumstance that the names occur strictly in the order of seniority. They were all men in the vigor of life and intellect from whom labor might be expected, Mr. Vaux being thirty-eight years old; Mr. Duncan, thirty-seven; Mr. Wharton, thirty-three; Mr. Rawle, thirty-two; Dr. Coates, twenty-five; Dr. Wistar and Mr. Smith both approaching the completion of their twenty-fourth year.

*The
Founders*

Sketch of Roberts Vaux

The name of Vaux was that of an ancient French family, which had migrated to the County of Sussex, England, prior to the seventeenth century. George Vaux, the great-grandfather of the subject of our sketch, was a lover of books, possessing a library of value including a curious and extensive collection of manuscript works on vellum, one of which—a Latin Bible written in the year 1061—is now in the ownership of the Library Company of Philadelphia, as a gift in 1768 from Dr. George Vaux, the grandfather of Roberts Vaux. Two of the sons of the Doctor, James and Richard, came from London to Philadelphia as youths, James becoming the father

*Ancestry of
Roberts
Vaux*

of George Vaux, a man of active public spirit, who served as a member of councils and was instrumental in the conversion of the potter's field into Washington Square. Richard, a rising merchant, who died in 1790, at the age of thirty-nine years, married Ann Roberts, whose ancestor, Hugh Roberts, had come to Pennsylvania with William Penn in 1682. The only son of this marriage was Roberts Vaux, who was born at Philadelphia, on January 21, 1786.

*Sketch of
Roberts
Vaux*

The lad was educated at the Friends' Academy, in Fourth Street, his Latin teacher being James Thompson, and his mathematical instructor, John D. Craig. He was a diligent and serious student and remained so all his life. At the age of eighteen he entered the counting-house of John Cooke, a merchant of high standing. At the age of twenty-one he embarked for himself in business, but after two or three years of success, under the weight of the sorrow caused by the death of his only sister, Susannah, he withdrew—to use his own words in a letter written but a year before his death—in “the fulfilment of a covenant made with my Creator at a moment of deep affliction, to employ the residue of my days, with sincere intentions, to rendering some benefit to my fellow beings.” How faithfully he kept that pledge is attested in the history of many of our public institutions. He became the embodiment of *energetic benevolence*, to use the Hon. Thomas M. Pettit's phrase, devoting himself to the causes of public education, prison discipline and numerous plans of charity and humanity.* He realized the truth of Sir Philip Sidney's remark that “doing good is the only certainly happy action of a man's life.”

*Public
Activities of
Roberts
Vaux*

To call the roll of the institutions with which he was connected is to follow him through life, and, at the same time, to obtain a picture of a characteristic feature of Philadelphia. He became, in 1807, a member of the Society for the Establishment and Support of Charity Schools; in 1817, he was the chairman of the Committee on Public Schools in the Pennsylvania Society for the Promotion of Public Economy; in 1818, he became the first president of the Controllers of the Public Schools, the predecessor of that body now known as

* Memorial address—*Memoirs of The Hist. Soc. of Pa.*, IV, Part I, 105–131.

the Board of Public Education, and was annually re-elected until his voluntary resignation in 1831; during all that time, in his annual reports, presenting "a true history of the institution, and a useful compendium of principles, maxims and practical remarks." He extended his activities to the state, and did much to bring about legislative enactments which lie at the base of the school system of the commonwealth.

He devoted much time to prisons and prison discipline. *Interest in Prisons*
In 1821, he was appointed a commissioner to devise a plan and superintend the erection of the Eastern Penitentiary, and did useful work in suggesting changes in our criminal code. He was secretary and later a vice-president of the Philadelphia Society for Alleviating the Miseries of Public Prisons. He defended with his pen, against William Roscoe in England, the Pennsylvania system of seclusion, but mercifully applied the relief of labor to solitary confinement. He was for many years a manager of the Pennsylvania Hospital, of the Frankford Asylum for the Insane, of the Pennsylvania Institution for the Instruction of the Blind, and the Pennsylvania Institution for the Deaf and Dumb. He gave attention to the affairs of the Philadelphia Dispensary, the Infant School Association, and the Vaccine Society. He became the president of the Pennsylvania State Temperance Society, and was a founder of the Apprentices Library Company, the Philadelphia Savings Fund Society and the House of Refuge. In all these the decided weight of his character was felt.

Mr. Thomas I. Wharton, in a discourse before the Athenaeum in 1847, paid him this tribute:

Philanthropy was the business and pleasure of his whole life; but this philanthropy, I have reason to believe, was a rational and practical system. Like that of William Penn and his contemporary reformers, it was an intelligent, reasonable and common sense principle, which, while it sought to improve the administration of criminal justice, to banish excessive severity from the penal code, and to open the door to reformation in the convict, never lost sight of the

Mr. Wharton's Tribute to Vaux

distinction between right and wrong, virtue and vice, crime and innocence. It neither confounded a wicked will with a morbid intellect; nor cut down the value of innocent human life to the measure of a petty larceny; nor devoted all its sympathies and charities to the convict and the slave; nor made heroes and saints of reformed drunkards and gamblers. In short, the philanthropy of Roberts Vaux, like that of the early Quakers, was a sober, practical, earnest, judicious, and consistent love of man, in the fear of God.

Thus did he travel "on life's common highway in cheerful godliness."

The range of his intellectual sympathies is shown by his membership in the Academy of Natural Sciences, the Linnean Society, the Franklin Institute, the American Philosophical Society, and the Athenaeum. Of the latter, he was one of the founders and for many years its vice-president.

*Vaux as an
Author*

He was also an author, publishing in 1815 *Memoirs of the Lives of Benjamin Lay and Ralph Sandiford*, two of the earliest advocates of the emancipation of slaves; and, in 1817, *Memoirs of the Life of Anthony Benezet*, the philanthropist.

He served the public in various capacities as a common councilman in the years 1814, 1815, 1816; as a state commissioner to investigate the causes and extent of pauperism; as one of three commissioners to treat with the commissioners of New Jersey respecting certain obstructions to the use of the waters of the Delaware River, and as an associate justice of the court of common pleas for the city and county of Philadelphia, laymen at that time being admitted to the bench. It is interesting to note that his maternal great-grandfather, Edward Roberts, had occupied a similar seat.

He declined repeatedly offers of nomination for the legislature, also a directorship in the Bank of the United States, to which he had been appointed by the President and confirmed by the Senate. He served for a time as an Indian commissioner under the Act of Congress of July 14, 1832, in-

tended to arrange for the location west of the Mississippi of tribes found to be troublesome in the eastern states. When he ascertained that the plans of the War Department contemplated the use of military force in disposing of difficulties between hostile tribes, he felt himself compelled to surrender the trust.

*Vaux as an
Indian Com-
missioner*

He was an active correspondent with eminent men and societies both at home and abroad, and delighted in the collection of pictures and manuscripts, especially those relating to Pennsylvania in the elucidation of history or early customs. He married, in 1813, Margaret, the daughter of Thomas Wistar. He died of a virulent scarlet fever on January 7, 1836, being within a few days of fifty years of age.

His Death

Sketch of Stephen Duncan

Stephen Duncan, of whom but little is known, was the son of Mr. Justice Thomas Duncan of the supreme court of Pennsylvania, an associate of chief justice Tilghman and of John Bannister Gibson, the latter the junior member of that tribunal. The father of Thomas Duncan, who was named Stephen, was prominent in the affairs of Cumberland County, and one of the trustees named in the charter of Dickinson College, granted on September 9, 1783. Justice Thomas Duncan, after his appointment to the supreme bench, in March, 1817, by Governor Simon Snyder as the successor of Justice Jasper Yeates, removed his residence from Carlisle to Philadelphia in 1818, and continued to live there until his death in 1827. His will, dated June 7, 1827, as probated, names his son Stephen as executor, and as legatee. Doubtless, the son was named after his grandfather. Moreover, Justice Duncan became a member of our Society early in 1825. How natural it is then to attribute his interest to the circumstance that his son, Stephen Duncan, was one of the founders, and further, that the son derived his taste for history partly from the fact that the Justice had been educated in his youth under Dr. Ramsay, the historian, and as a law student had read in the office of Justice Yeates, whose reports and opinions teem with

*Sketch of
Stephen
Duncan*

historical legal knowledge, particularly in relation to the titles of the Penn family.

We have found no countervailing circumstances to rebut these strong presumptions as to the identity of Stephen Duncan, founder, but must warn our readers not to confuse our founder with a Stephen Duncan, a graduate of Dickinson College, who removed to Natchez, Mississippi, in 1808, where, after practicing medicine, he became a rich planter, dying in New York in January, 1867.

Sketch of Thomas I. Wharton

*Sketch of
Thomas I.
Wharton*

Thomas I. Wharton was a man of whom much could be said. Although of "almost excessive delicacy in questions of social and political propriety," which limited his walks to his family and large professional relations, yet his general scholarship and literary tastes and skill placed him as a writer on historical, biographical and legal subjects in a commanding position among his fellows. Of his grace as a writer and his skill in the analysis of character, the reader can judge from his tribute to Roberts Vaux already quoted.

*Grandson
of "Duke
Wharton"*

He was born on May 17, 1791, the second son of Isaac Wharton and Margaret Rawle, the sister of William Rawle, our first president. His grandfather, Joseph Wharton, known by his friends because of the dignity and stateliness of his bearing as "Duke Wharton," was the owner of Walnut Grove on Fifth Street below Washington Avenue, which was the scene of the fête given by the British officers to Sir William Howe, in May, 1778, prior to the evacuation of Philadelphia, known to history as *The Meschianza*, the name being given to it by the unfortunate British victim of Arnold's treason, Major André, on account of the variety of entertainments provided, the name signifying a medley.

At an early age Thomas I. Wharton was graduated from the University of Pennsylvania, pursuing the study of the law in the office of his uncle, William Rawle, and was admitted to the Philadelphia bar October 19, 1812, the only one of the eight men admitted in that year destined to distinction. In the

War of 1812, he served as a captain of infantry, and was engaged in duties at Camp DuPont. At the close of the war, he entered upon legal practice, and in his twenty-fifth year married Arabella Griffith, the second daughter of John Griffith, a merchant of Philadelphia, son of the Attorney General of New Jersey of the same name, and brother of Judge William Griffith, a judge of the circuit court of the United States and author of several law treatises.

*His
Marriage*

At this time, he exercised and developed his literary tastes and skill by contributing to the *Port Folio* under the management of Joseph Dennie, and later became one of the editors of the *Analectic Magazine*. Continued devotion to the law soon gave him extensive practice and bore sound fruit and important associations. To him, in connection with his preceptor who performed the larger part of the work, and Judge Joel Jones, was entrusted the codification of the civil statutes of Pennsylvania, and the code, or rather redaction, they reported was much in advance of the legislation of the day both here and in other states. He was the sole author of the first two editions of *Wharton's Digest of the Decisions of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania*, and the reporter of the six volumes of the decisions of that court between the years 1835 and 1840, known to the profession as *Wharton's Reports*. These labors established his legal knowledge upon a broad and solid base and gave him authoritative knowledge. He then specialized in the law of real estate, and having acquired a varied experience he was able to use a naturally keen and discriminating mind in the prompt and accurate determination of delicate and difficult questions of title, of which, towards the end of his life, he was almost the sole professional arbiter.

*His Legal
Writings*

His biographical addresses before the Athenaeum and our Society are models of matter, arrangement and expression, one of them—*A Memoir of William Rawle, LL.D.*, forming an indispensable part of our own records, while his *Notes on the Provincial Literature of Pennsylvania* is the earliest and, in many respects, the best descriptive account of our indigenous literary flora.*

*His Literary
Efforts*

* His legal abilities were inherited by his sons, Francis and Henry, the first, renowned as the editor of *American State Trials*, with important notes;

Sketch of William Rawle, Jr.

*Ancestry
of William
Rawle, Jr.*

William Rawle, Jr. was in the fifth generation of descent from Francis Rawle of St. Juliot, Cornwall, England, who, with his wife, Jane, and his son, Francis, and a train of six servants (agricultural laborers most probably) emigrated from the port of Plymouth in the ship *Desire*, arriving at Philadelphia June 23, 1686. Both father and son, being Quakers, had suffered imprisonment for conscience' sake at Exeter, three years before their departure, and brought with them deeds signed by William Penn for lands subsequently located in Plymouth township, Montgomery (then part of Philadelphia) County. There Francis, Jr., married Martha Turner, daughter of Robert Turner, a close friend of Penn. Thus was a name, derived from the Norman Ralph or Raoul, which had been known in England since the days of the Conqueror, transplanted to Pennsylvania, where, ever since, it has been distinguished by notable examples of private worth and public service.

A family talent for authorship, which has never been lost on either the paternal or maternal side, manifested itself quite early. Francis, Jr., composed a pamphlet, entitled *Ways and Means for the Inhabitants of Delaware To Become Rich*, which is said to have been the first original treatise on political economy that appeared in the province, and the first book printed by Franklin. The date of publication was 1725. It provoked replies—one of them from James Logan—and copies, which are excessively rare, are in the collections of this Society.*

William, a son of Francis, Jr., and Martha (Turner), married Margaret Hodge. Their son Francis married Rebecca Warner, and became the father of William Rawle, the first

and the author of Wharton's *American Criminal Law, Conflict of Laws*, and *Negligence*, as well as Wharton and Stillé's *Medical Jurisprudence*; the second was the distinguished successor of his father as an expert in the subtleties of the law of real estate, and possessed of an agreeable wit. The *Arizona Reports*, a purely fictitious title, in the days when Arizona was an unpeopled part of the great American desert, an amusing satire on the judicial manner and opinions of an associate justice of the supreme court of Pennsylvania, later a chief justice, was written by Henry Wharton.

* For an account of this publication, see *post*, Chapter VI.

president of this Society. This William married Sarah Coates Burge, and their son, William, Jr., it was who became one of our founders. There was also a daughter, Margaret Rawle, who, by her marriage with Isaac Wharton became the mother of Thomas I. Wharton. Thus two of the founders were first cousins.

William Rawle, Jr., was born July 19, 1788. There is a pleasant story handed down in the family, that one day Washington called on William Rawle, and left his hat and stick on the hall table. Presently there was some disturbance on the street, and on looking out they saw the youthful William marching up and down the side-walk with Washington's hat and stick. The boy was educated in the classical schools of Philadelphia and later went to Princeton. After three years of study in his father's office, he was admitted to the bar of Philadelphia May 21, 1810, when twenty-two years of age. Like his cousin Wharton, he served in the War of 1812 as the captain of the First Troop of Philadelphia City Cavalry, succeeding Captain Thomas Cadwalader who had been commissioned brigadier general. Although never succeeding to the forensic fame of his father, he won for himself a distinct reputation. In his twenty-sixth year he began, in 1814, with Thomas Sergeant—later the third president of this Society—the preparation and publication of the *Reports of the Decisions of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania*, succeeding in this office Horace Binney, who had set these young men an enviable example in the perfection of his work. Together they published seventeen volumes, known to the profession as *Sergeant and Rawle's Reports*. Mr. Sergeant relinquished the work in 1828, but Mr. Rawle continued it until 1835, publishing his labors in five volumes, known by his single name, and one volume with Charles B. Penrose and Frederick Watts.

He served the public as a member of common council, and for four years—1836–1840—was the president of that body. He was a member of the American Philosophical Society, a solid proof of his intellectual standing, the secretary and afterwards a director of the Library Company of Philadelphia, and for nineteen years a trustee of the University of Pennsylvania. He was secretary of the Law Academy of

*Sketch of
William
Rawle, Jr.*

*Rawle, Jr.'s
Work as a
Reporter*

*Activities
of William
Rawle, Jr.*

Philadelphia, and in 1837 became a first vice-president. In 1834, he was one of a committee of the Philadelphia bar to accompany the remains of Chief Justice Marshall from Philadelphia to Richmond, and in the same year served on the committee which arranged for the memorial procession in honor of Lafayette. In 1835, he delivered an address before the Law Academy on *Eloquence*, in the fluent but florid style of the day. In 1836, he delivered the address at the first commencement of Lafayette College. Three years later, he was one of those to receive Henry Clay on a visit to Philadelphia. In January, 1839, he lectured before the Athenian Institute and Mercantile Library on the *Influence of Commerce*, presenting a general outline of the early history and extended effects of commerce, and displaying an amount of knowledge which only years of study could have amassed and digested.* In November, 1849, he signed the call for a meeting to urge the consolidation of the city and outlying districts, a work not accomplished until 1854. He died August 9, 1858, in the seventieth year of his age at "Harleigh," now South Laurel Hill.†

* This address, so remarkable for its learning, was published in Hazard's *United States Commercial and Statistical Register*—I, 1, Feb. 13, 1839. The address before the Law Academy was published in Hazard's *Register of Pennsylvania*, XV, No. 26, June 27, 1835.

† On October 7, 1817, William Rawle, Jr., married a granddaughter of Benjamin Chew and Mary Galloway, named Mary Anna, a daughter of Edward Tilghman, one of the triumvirate whom Horace Binney in his matchless brochure has designated as *The Leaders of the Old Bar of Philadelphia*. Thus sprung from legal stock, and marrying into a legal stock, he became the father of William Henry Rawle, whose works on *Covenants for Title* and *Governor Keith's Court of Chancery* are among the classics of our legal literature. Francis Rawle, a vice-president of this Society, himself a legal writer of repute in a difficult, recondite, but important field, has paid a concise but just tribute to his grandfather in these simple words: "To be the father of William Henry Rawle was a real service to the law."

Elizabeth, the daughter of William Rawle, Jr., a poetess of ability, by her marriage to Charles Wallace Brooke, a most promising lawyer who died young, became the mother of William Rawle Brooke, who, on the death of the only son of William Henry Rawle, changed his name by legal authority to William Brooke Rawle. He inherited the legal ability of the stock, and as an office counsellor, and as special legal representative of the Penn estates in Pennsylvania, fully sustained the reputation of the law office established by his great grandfather. Further and extended notice of his worth as an officer of this Society is given its appropriate place in Chapter XV, Vol. II of this *History*.

Sketch of Benjamin Hornor Coates

Benjamin Hornor Coates was the son of that most estimable man, Samuel Coates, who for forty years was a manager of the Pennsylvania Hospital, and for thirteen years its president, whose full length life size portrait, painted by Thomas Sully, magnificently adorns the hall of the hospital, and perpetuates the memory of a man who with Stephen Girard fought the yellow fever in 1793, regardless of personal consequences. The whole life of Samuel Coates was an illustration of the truth of that fine sentiment of Richard Cumberland, the philosophic Bishop of Peterborough, who wrote: "It is an old saying that *charity begins at home*; but this is no reason it should not go abroad; a man should live with the world as a citizen of the world; he may have a preference for the particular quarter or square, or even alley in which he lives, but he should have a generous feeling for the welfare of the whole." The opening of his generous purse was controlled by intelligence, for he believed in the maxim of Tryon Edwards: "Give work rather than alms to the poor. The former drives out indolence, the latter industry."

*Ancestry of
Benjamin
Hornor
Coates*

The family of Coates was of Leicestershire, England, tracing an ancient origin to the Norman French of Cotes. The earliest representative of the name in Pennsylvania was Thomas Coates, who came to our midst in 1684, a convert to Quakerism, and very early took up pieces of land.

Benjamin Hornor Coates, one of the founders, was the son of Samuel by his second wife Amy, the daughter of Benjamin Hornor, one of the earliest of our Market Street merchants. He was born November 13, 1797, and lived until October 16, 1881. He received an excellent literary and classical education at the Friends' Grammar School, displaying very early that passion for books and for science which dominated him through his long life. As a lad, on his return from school, he would spread the heavy folios of Rapin's *History of England* upon the floor, and lying down beside them pore over the pictured pages with intense delight.

*Sketch of
Benjamin
Hornor
Coates*

*Enters the
Medical
Profession*

His choice of a profession was that of medicine, graduating from the medical department of the University of Pennsylvania, in 1818, and also serving as an apprentice indentured to the managers of the Pennsylvania Hospital for a period of five years to learn "the art and mystery of medicine." His devotion to his profession attracted the attention of Dr. Physick, the renowned surgeon who operated upon Chief Justice Marshall. This placed him in the chair of a clinical lecturer at the Pennsylvania Hospital. He became a Fellow of the College of Physicians in 1827, and later the president of the Philadelphia County Medical Society. In 1836, he delivered the address at the laying of the cornerstone of the Pennsylvania Hospital for the Insane.

*His Liter-
ary Efforts*

He was a ready and prolific writer, contributing freely to the medical journals, and was the author of *A Biographical Sketch of the late Thomas Say, Esq.* He never lost but assiduously cultivated his taste for history. In 1834, he delivered an address before this Society on *The Origin of the Indian Population in America*, and two years later contributed important prefatory remarks to *A Narrative of an Embassy to the Western Indians*, from the original manuscript of Hendrick Aupanmut. He read in 1847 an address on the centennial anniversary of the American Philosophical Society, and in the same year, as a student of penology, considered in an important paper *The Effects of Secluded and Gloomy Imprisonment on Individuals of the African Variety of Mankind*.

His Poetry

He possessed unusual poetical talents, composing *Congratulatory Verses to William Hepworth Dixon, on his Life of Penn*, which successfully refuted the hasty and ill-founded charges of Macaulay, and, on the occasion of the inauguration of the new Hall of this Society, on March 11, 1872, delivered a melodious and inspiring poetical *Address*.*

He had, as the late Dr. James J. Levick has told in the sixth volume of the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* published by this Society, "an unusual mental organization, not without some of the eccentricities of genius and the peculiarities of the student: a brain so much in action as

* See *post*, Vol. I of this *History*, Chapter XXV.

rarely to know repose, accutely sensitive to all external influences."

He served this Society in many capacities; as a founder, an incorporator, a councillor, as corresponding secretary, as a vice-president, as honorary vice-president, being forty-eight years in active, and six years in honorary service, during a membership of fifty-seven years. The present writer well remembers him as a visitor to his father's house, a short, heavily built, broad shouldered man, of lumbering gait, with an enormous head and a huge wen of which he was not ashamed but proud. He had a bright eye and a kindly heart, taking notice of the young, and was a leader in the conversations of animated groups of doctors and medical students on festive occasions prior to graduation or commencement days.

*His Services
to This
Society*

Sketch of Caspar Wistar

Dr. Caspar Wistar must not be confused with his uncle, the famous Dr. Caspar Wistar, the fourth president of the American Philosophical Society, whose name is inseparably associated with the Wistar Parties, which form so distinctive and distinguished a part of the social history of Philadelphia.

*A Caution
as to
Wistar*

The nearest common ancestor of all the American *Wistars* and *Wisters* was Johannes Caspar Wister, born at Hilsbach, Baden, April 15, 1671, where he died leaving four children, of whom two were sons, Caspar and John. Caspar arrived in Philadelphia, September 16, 1717, followed by John ten years later. All the American *Wistars* are descended from Caspar, while John was the ancestor of the *Wisters*. This difference in the spelling of a surname apparently divides a family of single origin, the original being Wister of an Austrian-Silesian stock which migrated, because of the loss of landed estates, from Silesia to Baden some generations before the 'Thirty Years' War. The corruption to Wistar from Wister was the result of a clerical error in the engrossing of a statute. The matter is clearly explained by the late General Isaac Jones Wistar in his *Autobiography*, a book but little known because of its severely limited number of copies, but of enthralling interest to any lover of an adventurous and remarkable life, written with a vigor and purity of style as admirable as that of Frank-

*The Wistar
and Wister
Ancestry*

lin. Caspar Wister, seven years after his arrival in Pennsylvania, was naturalized by special act of the provincial Assembly, passed May 9, 1724, under the name of *Wistar*. Having acquired title to thousands of acres of land in various parts of the province, in what are now Chester, Berks, Centre, Clinton, Northumberland and Bradford counties, as well as to city lots, and having married under his statutory name, he accepted the change to avoid complications in conveyancing. His brother John, however, on his arrival adhered to the original spelling. Hence, it becomes unnecessary to resort to the witty suggestion of Dr. Oliver Wendell Holmes that the family differences be reconciled by the mutual adoption of a diphthong.

Caspar, the immigrant, having become a Quaker, married a Quakeress, Katharine Johnson, May 25, 1726, at the Friends' Meeting in Germantown. Their eldest son, Richard, married Sarah Wyatt of Salem, N. J. Their third son, Thomas, born March 17, 1765, married Mary, daughter of Richard and Elizabeth Waln, of Walnford, N. J. Their son, Caspar, the second of three, is the subject of this sketch, and by his marriage to Lydia, daughter of Isaac Cooper and Hannah Firth Jones, became the father of General Wistar.

*Sketch of
Caspar
Wistar,
a Founder*

Caspar Wistar was born June 5, 1801, and influenced, as we are told, by the successful career of his famous uncle, like him devoted himself to the medical profession. He received his medical degree from the University of Pennsylvania in 1824; served as a resident of the Pennsylvania Hospital from 1824 to 1826 inclusive; became a Fellow of the College of Physicians in 1842, resigned from that body and retired from practice in 1853, with a competence, partly inherited, and devoted himself to the culture and education of his many children until his death, April 4, 1867.

His Characteristics

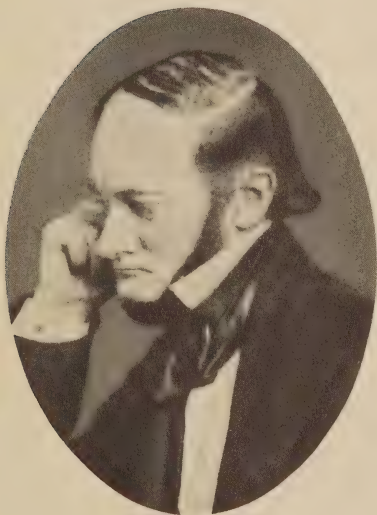
His son tells us that "he was fastidious in his practice and indifferent to the numerous professional resources by which success and profit are usually sought and obtained. He possessed the qualities of quick and correct diagnosis, sound judgment and knowledge of resources which if accompanied by the spur of necessity, must have carried him to the front rank of his profession. Nevertheless, he acquired a considerable



George W. Smith



William Rawle, Jr.



Dr. Benjamin H. Coates



Thomas I. Wharton

Founders of the Society

practice, and inspired so much confidence and affection that he found much difficulty in terminating many of his professional relations, even after adopting the practice of living during a large part of each year in the country."

Although he was a strict domestic disciplinarian, yet his son declares: "I was always a sincere admirer of my father and deeply attached to him—for with his wide range of reading and love of knowledge he was in more demonstrative moments one of the most cultivated and delightful companions I ever knew."

Sketch of George Washington Smith

George Washington Smith, the youngest of founders and, with the exception of Dr. Coates, the last survivor, is still remembered by several of our members, and that too, most agreeably. His great-grandfather, grandfather and father all bore the first name of Thomas. Shortly after his birth, which was on August 4, 1800, his father, writing to a friend at whose house his daughter Elizabeth, a girl of eighteen, was visiting, instructed him: "Tell her that her Mama has given her brother *a great name*—every Patriotic American will guess. I need not say *George Washington*."

*Ancestry of
George
Washington
Smith*

The ancestry of the boy thus honored was purely Scottish on the paternal side. Aberdeenshire had been the region of birth of these particular Smiths for generations, the family living in the Turnielief homestead which afterward became a part of the domain of the Earl of Errol. There Thomas, the grandfather of George, was twice married. By his first wife, Elizabeth Duncan of the Camperdown family, he had two sons, Charles and William, and by his second wife, whose family name is not known, he had Thomas, who was born in 1745. The brothers and their far younger half brother were deeply attached to each other despite their differences in age. Years afterwards, Thomas wrote of Charles, who had gone to London and become a successful stationer, "he has been a father as well as brother to me . . . a better man than Charles never lived." To William he was indebted for powerful influence in aiding his education both in London and in Pennsylvania after his migration in 1768, at the age of twenty-

*His Rela-
tionship to
Provost
William
Smith*

three years, whither his half brother William had preceded him. Of this help there can be no doubt, for William Smith was the far famed first provost of the College of Philadelphia, later to become the University of Pennsylvania, a man of such commanding leadership in the affairs of the city, educational, political, social, literary and scientific, as to be reckoned with even by Franklin.

Famous Young Scotsmen who Became Pennsylvanians It is noteworthy, indeed, that at or about this time bonnie Scotland had supplied to Pennsylvania a group of interesting young men, all born within a comparatively short distance of each other in Aberdeenshire—William and Thomas Smith, James Wilson, Hugh Henry Brackenridge and Alexander Addison—all of whom attained eminence, William as provost; Thomas as an associate justice of the supreme court of Pennsylvania in the days of Tilghman; Wilson as a signer of the Declaration of Independence and of the Constitution of the United States; Brackenridge as an essayist, and a member of the supreme court of Pennsylvania, and Addison as the presiding judge of the fifth circuit of the state of Pennsylvania, and the author of Addison's *Reports*.

The Father of George Washington Smith The life of Thomas Smith, which has produced an admirable volume of importance from the pen of our fellow member Burton Alva Konkle, was that of a pioneer in that portion of Pennsylvania which embraces the present counties of Bedford and Huntingdon, as well as in the fields of service in the Continental Congress, in the State Constitutional Convention of 1776, and in the difficult work of the supreme court of Pennsylvania as reorganized under the constitution of 1790. His life and acts were those of a thoroughly representative man, who in many and diverse fields of action wrought side by side with those who built up the nation and the state.

His Mother Such was the father of George Washington Smith. His mother, presumably of Dutch ancestry, was Letitia Van Deren, daughter of John Van Deren, wooed in the romantic glen of the still incomparable Wissahickon, and married November 29, 1781. The founder, who was the youngest of a large family of sisters, was not born until August 4, 1800.

He grew to manhood under the guardianship of Chief Justice Tilghman, graduated from Princeton in 1818, studied law in the office of Horace Binney, was admitted to the bar of Philadelphia, April 23, 1823, but never practiced. Of a studious temperament and contemplative habits he preferred the quiet reading rooms of the Athenaeum to the contentions of the forum. He became, in 1824, one of the founders of the Franklin Institute, shortly prior to his helping to found this Society. For thirty-six years he was a member of the American Philosophical Society. His interest in penology led to his becoming an inspector of the penitentiary, and to his authorship of a pamphlet, *A Defence of the System of Solitary Confinement of Prisoners, adopted by the State of Pennsylvania*. As early as 1825, he published *Facts and Arguments in Favor of adopting Railroads in preference to Canals in Pennsylvania*, and added a few remarks on the subject of internal improvements. This work went through four editions. He followed the matter up in 1831 by an argument in favor of a proposed canal round the western abutment of the Schuylkill permanent bridge. In 1832, he edited an American edition of Nicholas Wood's *Practical Treatise on Roads and Interior Communications in General*. The book was published in Philadelphia.

*Sketch of
George
Washington
Smith*

A master of several languages, and remaining all his life a bachelor, he had abundance of leisure for foreign travel, spending several years in Europe and Asia exploring the antiquities of those countries, particularly in the Holy Land. Possessed of a large estate, he gave liberally to benevolent objects. A devout member of the Episcopal church, he was for more than thirty years a vestryman of Christ Church, warden of the parish, and teacher of the Bible class for men. On four consecutive Thanksgiving Days he placed a check for five thousand dollars in the offertory for the benefit of the Episcopal Hospital with which to endow free beds for the use of the parish. In person he was a tall slender man, with hair turning grey and a bushy sandy brown beard, somewhat careless in his dress as a studious bachelor is apt to be, but of conversational powers and ease of manner which made him welcome at all gatherings of savants.

*His Character-
istics*

*Representa-
tive Char-
acter of the
Founders*

We have been at some pains to describe the founders and their public and private activities, as well as their family associations, in order that we might realize, even though imperfectly, what they stood for in their day and generation. We doubt whether this little fellowship of seven sympathetic friends, the oldest of them but thirty-eight and the youngest barely twenty-four, themselves realized what they truly represented in the aggregate of colonial, revolutionary and evolutionary forces in the establishment and development of the commonwealth and nation. Each contributed, quite modestly, perhaps unconsciously, in their different strains of ancestral blood—English, Scottish, Irish, Welsh, Dutch, French, Huguenot, Moravian, Austrian, Silesian—drops wrung in pain from the brows of sects once persecuted or oppressed for conscience' sake, which, when commingled in the alembic of America, became distilled by the fierce fires of our Revolution into the most precious elixir of the ages.

CHAPTER VI

The Administration of William Rawle 1825-1836

Biographical Sketch of Mr. Rawle

*Ancestry — Francis Rawle — Associations with Franklin — Father
and Mother of William Rawle — Mr. Rawle's Career*

IN an original letter of more than fifteen pages, preserved in our archives, dated June 3, 1837, written by Peter S. Du Ponceau to Thomas I. Wharton, we are told by that learned philologist and cautious biographer:

Mr. Rawle could not boast of an *Anglo-Saxon* descent. His origin must be traced to the Conquerors of the Anglo-Saxons—the Normans. His name is evidently (with a little variation in the orthography) the same as that of *Raoul*, the first Duke of Normandy, who in the Year 912 obtained the Sovereignty of that province from Charles the Simple, King of France, who also gave him his daughter Giselle in marriage. He was an ancestor to William the Conqueror. The monkish annalists, in their bad Latin, called him *Rollo*, but it is an ascertained fact that his name was *Raoul*, which afterwards became very common in France, particularly in Normandy, whence it passed over into England, where the English *w* was substituted for the French diphthong *ou*. This etymology was often talked over between Mr. Rawle & me; he freely admitted it, & tho' a Quaker, did not Seem displeased to be the descendant of conquerors.

*Ancestry
of William
Rawle*

The English ancestors of William Rawle were Cornishmen, and the ancient name of Rawle was as well known as that of Trelawney among the manors of Cornwall. Besse in

his *Collection of the Sufferings of the Quakers* numbers in the list of those confined in the high gaol of Devonshire in 1685 the great-great-grandfather and great-grandfather of our William Rawle. Conscience and courage were inextinguishable traits of the stock, while intellect and refinement have distinguished its members from generation to generation.

In the sketch of his son as a founder,* we have dwelt sufficiently upon the distant forebears of our first president, but a few particulars may be added concerning the parts taken by his Pennsylvania ancestors in the upbuilding of the province. They will enable us to realize how fitly representative in character was the man who was chosen to be our first president. The sources of information are to be found in a manuscript left among his papers, which, according to Mr. Thomas I. Wharton, appears to have been written in 1824, at the suggestion of Mr. Watson, the author of the *Annals of Philadelphia*; unfortunately, its pages are but few.

Francis
Rawle

Offices
Held by
Francis
Rawle

Francis Rawle, the great-grandfather, was a man of education and of moderate property, who had the good fortune to marry the daughter of Robert Turner, a wealthy linen draper from Dublin, who, as one of the first purchasers from Penn, had taken up the entire block from Second Street to the Delaware River between Arch Street and McComb's alley. "Robert Turner's Large House," in the middle of this plot, was still to be seen in the days of the great-grandson. Turner so possessed the confidence of William Penn as to receive from England a blank commission for the office of register general for the probate of wills, with power, if he did not choose to exercise the office himself, to fill in the blank with any other name of his selection. Turner accepted the office but appointed his son-in-law his deputy.

The original letter from Penn forwarding this commission was one of the autographic treasures with which William Rawle, yielding to the persuasive eloquence of Mr. Du

* *Ante*, Chapter V. See also the *Records of the Rawle Family* on the shelves of the Society, and an interesting article, containing much of Rawle family history, by Col. Wm. Brooke Rawle, entitled "Laurel Hill, and Some Colonial Dames Who Once Lived There," *Penna. Mag. of Hist. & Biog.*, XXXV, 385.

Ponceau as secretary of the Committee on History and Literature, enriched the American Philosophical Society. Mr. John Hill Martin in his valuable *Bench and Bar of Philadelphia* gives the date of the commission as "16, 12 mo. 1690-1." He also notes that "Francis Rawle, Jr., his son-in-law, was his deputy." It is interesting also that Martin notes the name of Robert Turner, under date of "5, 5 mo. 1686," as being associated with William Frampton and William Southebe as commissioners for the same office in place of Christopher Taylor, the original appointee, in 1682, who had died in 1686. Taylor was the first of the thirteen witnesses to the first charter of Penn dated April 25, 1682, which has been recently acquired (1925) for the commonwealth of Pennsylvania by public purchase.

*Documentary
Evidence*

This Francis Rawle was far more than a deputy register of wills. He was admitted to the Philadelphia bar on August 3, 1725 and prior to that time served as a member of the Assembly for the city of Philadelphia in the years 1704 to 1708, again in 1719 to 1723, and again in 1724 to 1726. The *Journals* show that he was active in the business of the house, and frequently headed the most important committees. His claim to our notice stands on still higher ground. He was Pennsylvania's first political economist. He wrote a pamphlet of 65 pages, which was "Printed and sold by S. Keimer in Philadelphia, MDCCXXV," entitled *Ways and Means for the Inhabitants of Delaware to become Rich*. In the fragmentary manuscript we have referred to, William Rawle states that one day when he was at Dr. Franklin's table at Passy, "he asked me if I had a copy of the work; observing that it was the *first book* he had ever printed."

*Francis
Rawle,
our First
Political
Economist*

What a delightful reminiscence! It is interesting to know from his own pen that the first president of this Society, then a young man of twenty-three, during the eight days that he spent in Paris in the spring of 1782, held conversation with Franklin at his own table. It intensifies our appreciation of the captivating qualities of Franklin to learn that he affably inquired about a book written by his guest's great-grandfather. It makes the heart beat faster to learn that this book was not only the first that Franklin printed with his own hands, but

*Franklin's
Interest*

that it was associated with the critical period of his service as a practical pressman for Keimer, who, according to the most renowned of autobiographies, did not know how to handle a press. These multiplied associations would endear the book to the coldest of bibliophiles, but it will emphasize the value and usefulness of this Society in the minds of its members to know that we possess one of the two known copies of this excessively rare little book.

*Analysis of
the Francis
Rawle
Tract*

The pamphlet is of value, aside from its bibliothecal features, to the historians and political economists of Pennsylvania.* It states that at that time the trade and commerce of the Delaware were at a very low ebb, grain, the chief staple, bringing but small prices, gold and silver, the only circulating medium, being almost exhausted, and the community involved in embarrassments. The author was "sorrowfully affected" by such conditions. As a remedy, he pointed out that a favorable balance of trade, in a country blessed with fertility of soil and abundance of country produce, could be secured by bounties on wheat, barley, oats, tobacco, hemp, flax, paper, linseed oil, rice, timber, iron, limestone, isinglass, and cotton stone. He argued in favor of paper money to supply the want of cash, but insisted that care should be taken to maintain its value by restricting the amount of the issues. Horses, of improved breed, could be readily raised and exported. He proposed also the establishment by the legislature of an insurance office to insure merchants against maritime losses, according to the then very recent practice in England. He closed with the eminently practical suggestion that all articles of export should be "well saved, well packed, sound and merchantable."

As Franklin set the type carrying these ideas, he must have been persuaded of their soundness, for, in later years, he expressed strikingly similar thoughts.

The pamphlet provoked an anonymous reply, attributed to James Logan, entitled *A Dialogue between Simon and Timothy, shewing what's therein to be found, and, the matter*

* It has very recently attracted the attention of the eminent historical scholar, Mr. Justice Riddell of the Supreme Court of Ontario. *Penna. Mag. of Hist. & Biog.*, LIII, 137-140.

being modish, for want of good Latin are put English Quotations. This was a scornful thrust, for Logan was well known as the best classical scholar of the day. This was printed, without a printer's name, in Philadelphia, in 1725. Francis Rawle rejoined sharply—the title page disclosing his spirit—in *A Just Rebuke to a Dialogue betwixt Simon and Timothy shewing What's therein to be found—namely Levity, Perversion and Detraction all of which are detected in this short Examen, and that short Treatise entitled Ways and Means rescued from the Dialogists' unjust charge of Inconsistencies and Contradictions* (Philadelphia—Printed by S. Keimer in Market Street, MDCCXXVI). This Society possesses the only known copies of these two little books.

*Logan's
Reply to
Francis
Rawle*

Rejoinder

William, the grandfather of the first president, was a man of parts and education. On April 4, 1728, he became a member of the Philadelphia bar, was one of the original members of the Library Company of Philadelphia, and the first American donor of books to that institution. His library was extensive for those days, especially in classical literature. Many of his Greek and Latin books were in the possession of his grandson. Francis, the father, received a liberal education, possessed a robust and active mind, and was said to have been a person of attractive manners and conversation. He contributed to the literary journals of the day, and, travelling extensively abroad, wrote interesting letters, especially of his tour in Ireland. On his return, he married Rebecca, daughter of Edward Warner, a merchant of standing, and soon afterwards became interested in Indian affairs, meeting the great chief Teedyuscung at Easton. He died on June 7, 1761, at the early age of 32, in consequence of a wound from the accidental discharge of his fowling-piece while hunting game in his own woods.

*The Grand-
father of
William
Rawle*

*The Father
of William
Rawle*

His only son, William, born April 28, 1759, was but little more than two years old at the time of this sad event, and many years afterwards endorsed on a manuscript the touching words: "I believe that the within was the composition of my revered father. It never was my lot *risu cognoscere patrem*. I was too young to recognize him by anything."

*Birth of
William
Rawle*

*The Mother
of William
Rawle*

The mother of William Rawle is described as "a woman with an intellect of no common strength and cultivation, possessed of every virtue that befits and adorns a Christian." The diaries of the son are full of instances of her devotion and care. There are also enlivening incidents. "The alarm of the Paxtang Boys is distinctly within my recollection," he writes, although the occurrence happened when he was but six years of age. There are references also to his student days at the Friends' academy in Fourth Street, where he received what then stood as a substitute for a college education.

*Her Marriage to
Samuel
Shoemaker*

During this period, the widowed mother married Samuel Shoemaker, who was mayor of Philadelphia from 1769 to 1771, and who, during the occupation of the city by the British—the colonial municipal government having fallen during the Revolution—was put in office as "the first Magistrate of Police by the King's authority." In a commonplace book dated October 12, 1781, written while he was a student at law in the Inner Temple, William Rawle wrote of what he had seen as a boy while remaining in Philadelphia during its occupation by the British forces from September 1777 to June 1778. He vividly described the unrestrained plundering and wanton destruction of property indulged in by British soldiers, and the enormities practiced by the Hessians.* When the British evacuation took place, Shoemaker, because of his Tory affiliations and sympathies, retired with his wife and step-son to New York, in June 1778. The trip by water was tedious in the extreme; two days and nights being spent in reaching Reedy Island, and *thirteen* on the passage from Philadelphia to the Capes of Delaware Bay. The youthful diarist declares: "I presently caught myself comparing our situation to that of a bird in a cage, a person chained in a dungeon, mouse trap, matrimony and a hundred other ancient sayings that I now felt the propriety of."

*Removal to
New York*

This removal to New York shaped his subsequent career. He began the study of the law under the royal Attorney General Kempe, "a lawyer of skill and integrity, a gentleman remarkable for his politeness, a friend beloved for his sin-

* The account is published in the *Penna. Mag. of Hist. & Biog.*, XXV,

cerity," as his grateful pupil records. Debarred by the political outlawry of his parents from a return to Philadelphia, he determined to pursue his legal studies at the fountain of the common law, and on August 17, 1781, at the age of twenty-two, found himself enrolled as a student in the Middle Temple. His letters to his mother give sprightly sketches of King George III, the Queen and the Prince of Wales, and particularly of the venerable Lord Chief Justice Mansfield, "a decrepit man of seventy-eight, with no other expression in his face than good nature, hobbling with difficulty under the weight of a trailing gown. But after he was seated on the bench, when he came to deliver his sentiments on an argument between those two celebrated orators, Dunning and Erskine, a fire and animation took place in his countenance, that did full justice to the genius and judgment he displayed in his speech."

*William
Rawle's
Letters to
his Mother*

His studies in the Temple were of but short duration, but he had the benefit of the celebrated Mr. Dunning's advice, and spent time "in re-perusing Hume's *History of England*," which his illustrious patron, afterwards Lord Ashburton, "warmly recommended as a preliminary study to which the utmost attention should be paid." In April, 1782, he visited France, calling on Dr. Franklin "at an elegant villa three miles from Paris," where the good Doctor was "exceedingly caressed and visited by people of fashion." He obtained a passport from Franklin subscribed by his own hand, dated May 8, 1782, and toured the Continent, returning to Philadelphia on January 17, 1783, having been absent from his birth place four years and a half. On September 15 following he was admitted to the bar which he was destined to lead, and on November 13, without waiting for clients, was married to Sarah Coates Burge by whom he had twelve children.

*His Studies
in the
Temple*

*His Admis-
sion to the
Philadel-
phia Bar*

Mr. Rawle's progress at the bar was slow, so slow that at one time he had almost determined to abandon it and retire to a country life of which he was fond. After ten tedious years of perseverance he obtained a firm foothold. We can the better judge of his difficulties by mentioning that he came to the bar ten years later than the great triumvirate—*Leaders of the Old Bar of Philadelphia*, as Mr. Binney has called them—

*The Leaders
of the Phil-
adelphia
Bar*

William Lewis, Edward Tilghman and Jared Ingersoll; six years later than Jacob Rush, subsequently a judge, and Jonathan Dickinson Sergeant, the first Attorney General of Pennsylvania; five years later than Moses Levy, later a judge, and William Bradford, Jr., the second Attorney General of the United States; and in the same year with Samuel Sitgreaves and William Ewing. He preceded by a single year those who in due time with himself became the leaders, Peter S. Du Ponceau, Alexander James Dallas, the first of our law reporters and Secretary of the Treasury under Madison, Benjamin R. Morgan, a state senator and Joseph M. McKean, an Attorney General of Pennsylvania. He preceded by eight years Joseph Hopkinson, best known to this generation as the author of *Hail Columbia*, but a distinguished advocate before he became a United States district judge; and by sixteen years Charles Chauncey and John Sergeant; and, by seventeen years, Horace Binney.

*Rawle's
Early Years
at the Bar*

His years of trial were those gloomy ones which afflicted all the states from the treaty of peace in 1783 to the adoption of the Constitution of the United States, years which furnished repeated proofs of the utter inadequacy and feebleness of the Articles of Confederation, years in which ruin, despair, civil paralysis, bankruptcy, insurrection, discord and dishonor threatened with extinction all that the blood, the treasure, the sacrifices and the anguish of eight years of war had won for American independence. Young Rawle was an eye witness of the public misery. He read in the newspapers of the day of Shays' Rebellion in Massachusetts, he saw the flight of the Continental Congress, which had once braved King, Lords and Commons, from Philadelphia to Princeton, when insulted by a squad of mutinous soldiers—tattered heroes of Brandywine, Germantown, and Monmouth clamoring for pay. He heard the ribald jests upon the worthlessness of the Continental money, and he saw the walls of barber shops plastered with discredited bills. He witnessed the assembling of the Federal Convention, and although he could not listen to the debates held behind closed doors, he participated in the joy with which final ratification of the Constitution of the United

States and the establishment of the administration of Washington were hailed.

From that hour his professional prospects improved. In 1789 he was elected a member of the last General Assembly of Pennsylvania, under the constitution of 1776, his first and last appearance on the political stage. He kept a diary, which discloses the fact of his election as a member against his wishes, his reluctant acceptance of the post, the onerous character of the duties imposed upon him, owing to the absence of William Lewis, and the difficulties he encountered on the eve of the framing of the new constitution of 1790.* An ardent Federalist, and a personal friend and admirer of Washington, he received an unsolicited appointment by the President of the only other public office which he was ever induced to accept, that of district attorney of the United States for Pennsylvania, which he filled from 1791 until his voluntary resignation in 1800. During that time he was offered the high place of attorney general of the United States, on Edmund Randolph's resignation from the cabinet, owing to the latter's implication with Genêt, the French minister, but declining it in favor of William Bradford, Jr., he adhered to his arduous but subordinate office.

*His Public
Offices*

His nine years of service were full of exciting trials. He had to prosecute the Whiskey Insurrectionists, and other treasonable conspiracies, the case of Fries being particularly notable. In all these he conducted himself with firmness and courage, but never overstepped the bounds of moderation and self respect. There was no bitterness in his prosecutions, yet he maintained the respect of friends and political foes. Dr. Francis Wharton's *State Trials of the United States*—collected in a volume of historical as well as legal value—embody and illustrate his official labors.

*His Con-
duct as U. S.
District
Attorney*

One case of much interest arose in his private practice which is persuasive proof of his position at the admiralty bar. In June, 1793, while France and England were at war, two American vessels were captured by French privateers in American waters. The American owners to recover their prop-

*His Argu-
ments at
the Bar*

* Extracts from the diary may be read in the *Penna. Mag. of Hist. & Biog.*, XXV, 220.

erty libeled the ships. Their counsel were the veteran William Lewis and his junior William Rawle. The important question was whether the Federal courts could restrain or penalize violations of international law. The President and his cabinet anxiously awaited a decision. Alexander Hamilton, in writing to Rufus King, condensed the argument thus: "Lewis and Rawle believe that the District or Admiralty Court will take cognizance of this question. They argue that it would be a great chasm in the law that there should not be some competent judicial authority to do justice between the parties in the case of an illegal seizure within our jurisdiction. . . . That though, as a general principle, a Court of a neutral nation will not examine the question of prize or not prize between belligerent powers, yet this principle must except the case of the infraction of the jurisdiction of the neutral power itself. . . . This is their reasoning, and it has much force. The desire of the Executive is to have the point ascertained."

On the other side, the veteran Jared Ingersoll and his junior, Peter S. Du Ponceau, argued that the court had no jurisdiction, and that under the existing treaty France had the right to bring her prizes into our ports, and that the United States must seek its redress by negotiation, and that American courts must keep clear of all international complications agitating Europe.

*The Judges
of the
Supreme
Court of
the United
States
Refuse to
give extra
Judicial
Opinions* Judge Peters sustained this view, deciding that the court was without power to inquire into the legality of the prize. "While anxious for the peace and dignity of my country," he stated, "not considering the Court in this instance the vindicator of the rights of the Nation, I leave in better hands the discussion on the subject of national insult and the remedy for an invasion of territorial rights." Much disturbed, the President sought the advice of the Supreme Court of the United States, addressing to Chief Justice Jay and his associates twenty-nine carefully framed interrogatories. After deliberating for more than a month, the judges unanimously declined to express their opinions extra-judicially, especially as the Constitution purposely as well as expressly had given to the President the power of calling on his cabinet officers for opinions. In this way was the independence of the judiciary

established, and from that time to the present the court has adhered unflinchingly to the rule that judges cannot be consulted in advance upon questions which may arise in litigation before them.

Though defeated as an advocate, Mr. Rawle had the proud satisfaction of knowing that he had participated in the tenth year of his practice in the argument of a case which led in large part to the firm establishment of one of the most salutary principles in our constitutional jurisprudence. From this time forth his success was assured, and for more than forty years he was actively engaged, during twenty years of which his nephew, Mr. Wharton, tells us his professional business "was very great and his income large. His name appears in most of the important causes of that period, and his arguments always commanded the attention and respect of the Court." David Paul Brown, who became his pupil in the latter part of 1813, informs us that "he was then about fifty-five years old, and at the very pinnacle of professional distinction."

*The Extent
of his
Practice*

Mr. Du Ponceau in some spirited reminiscences furnished at the request of Mr. Wharton tells us that during the reign of the embargo, non-intercourse, and other restrictive measures, produced by the British orders in council, and the Berlin and Milan decrees, a great number of causes were carried up from Philadelphia to the Supreme Court of the United States. The counsel travelled together, in a coach or stage hired for themselves, over bad roads and in the midst of rain, hail and snow in the month of February, but, nevertheless, as soon as they were out of the city "and felt the flush of air, we were like school boys on the play ground on a holiday. . . . Flashes of wit shot their coruscations on all sides; puns of the genuine Philadelphia stamp were handed about; old college stories were revived; macaronic Latin was spoken with great purity; songs were sung, even classical songs. . . . in short, we might have been taken for anything but the grave counsellors of the celebrated bar of Philadelphia." *

*Du
Ponceau's
Recollections*

A joyous band it was, composed of Ingersoll, Dallas, Lewis, Edward Tilghman, Rawle and Du Ponceau. "Our appearance

* Du Ponceau's recollections appended to Mr. Wharton's memoir of William Rawle, *Memoirs of the Hist. Soc. of Pa.*, IV, 77-91.

at the bar of the Supreme Court was always a scene of triumph. We entered the Hall together, and Judge Washington was heard to say 'This is *my* bar.' On one occasion, when mirth was high, the laughing driver struck a stump, and the coach was overturned. The battered counsel on arriving at Baltimore sent for a surgeon and all were bled, except the imperturbable Du Ponceau.

*Rawle's
Appearances
In Courts*

In the Supreme Court of the United States, Mr. Rawle appeared before Chief Justices Jay, Ellsworth and Marshall, and at circuit before Justices Wilson, Blair, Iredell, Paterson, Chase and Washington, the mighty men of Revolutionary days, eminent either as members of the Continental Congress, signers of the Declaration of Independence or as framers of the Constitution of the United States. In the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania, he appeared before Chief Justices McKean, Shippen, Tilghman and Gibson. His active career covers the period of the reports of Dallas, Yeates, Binney, and Sergeant and Rawle, his son helping to report his father's arguments through sixteen volumes.

Thus it appears that, with well seasoned history he was thoroughly saturated; of history freshly made he was an eye witness; of history in the making he was a part. His life serves as a bridge to connect the Society in its infancy with the formative period of our Nation, and it is through his life, as rooted in the storied past, that we, as an institution, draw our present sustenance, which in due time will sustain the life of the future. It is through the overlapping of lives and the perpetuation, from generation to generation, of shining deeds that the continuity, uniformity, solidity and value of our societary existence is maintained and preserved.

*Mr. Rawle's
Private
Life*

The private life of Mr. Rawle was marked by simplicity of living and domestic virtue. He was an affectionate husband and a devoted father. He loved his own hearth-stone, and rarely departed from it except upon his annual winter trips to Washington.* His professional offices, as was the custom

* One exception may be noted. In the late summer of 1810 he made a visit of some weeks to Canada, and left an interesting account of his toilsome travels, with observations on the laws, lawyers, judges and constitution of Lower Canada, which quite recently attracted the attention of Mr. Justice Riddell of the Supreme Court of Ontario.

in those days, were in his dwelling-house, and it was but a few steps from his desk to his dining room. While engaged with clients he could hear the prattle of his children, and when free from the labors and excitements of the court house, or from consultations with Nicholas Biddle, the president of the Bank of the United States, of which for many years he was the counsel, he could sink into his favorite chair and gratify his studious tastes by poring over the philosophical legal treatises of Emerigon, Valin and Pothier, or the international jurists and moralists, Puffendorf, Vattel and Burlamaqui. His arguments show the extent, the depth and variety of his reading.

He was of a benevolent disposition, and was closely associated with the charitable, educational, artistic and intellectual activities of his day. He was a member of the American Philosophical Society; the secretary and later a director of the Library Company of Philadelphia; a trustee, for forty years, of the University of Pennsylvania; a contributor to the Pennsylvania Hospital, a member of the Society for the Establishment and Support of Sunday Schools, a president of the Society for the Abolition of Slavery and the Improvement of the Condition of the African Race; the chancellor of the Law Association of Philadelphia, and vice-president of the Law Academy. Interested in agriculture, he delivered a discourse before the Agricultural Society, in which he discussed the effects of emigration to this country upon domestic farming, and extended his views to the duties of the government towards emigrants, and of immigrants to the land of their choice. Being himself an artist of no mean skill, he was active in the establishment of the Academy of the Fine Arts, and in a public address earnestly vindicated the claims of painting and sculpture to the encouragement and support of a republican community. Without being known as a poet, he wrote verses with ease.

With Thomas I. Wharton and Judge Joel Jones he revised the civil code of Pennsylvania. This was a work of magnitude and importance. The revision of 1830 to 1836 was contained in eight reports to the legislature during that period. It was generally understood that the greater part of the labor fell upon Mr. Rawle, except as to the last report which was made

*His
Personal
Activities*

*Rawle Aids
in the
Revision
of the
Civil Code*

*His View of
the Consti-
tution of the
United
States*

*On the
Right of
Secession*

to the legislature after his health broke down completely. His most serious work was an intensive analysis of our national institutions in the shape of an important work entitled *A View of the Constitution of the United States*, the first formal commentary on that subject, which, passing through two editions, was for nearly forty years the leading text book on the Constitution. His views on the subject of secession, though now out of date, are historically interesting. In a chapter "Of the Permanence of the Union," he took the position that a state had the right to withdraw from the Union. This was not novel doctrine, though Mr. Rawle was the first to argue it calmly and at length. Logically, it was the theory on which the action of the Hartford Convention of 1815 was based. It has been urged that Mr. Rawle's maintenance of this view was not without effect in leading to the secession of 1861, and a Southern writer has pointed out that General Lee was taught that doctrine at West Point from this work. But this is giving undue importance to a mere text book. The view there maintained was in 1825, and later, the view that was generally held, or nearly so, by statesmen North and South. There was no opposite school of thought. Mr. Rawle wrote of a condition of affairs and of public thought which prevailed prior to 1830. "The process of crystallization or, to put it in other words, the growth of the idea of nationality," as Charles Francis Adams has asserted, "may be dated from that time. It is a most interesting historical development. Judge Story initiated it in his *Commentaries on the Constitution*. Webster developed it in his debate with Hayne. The nullification question presented it as a concrete issue. The result was apparent in the growth of the generation which took control of affairs in 1860."

The reader, if inclined to pursue the subject as a matter of purely historical inquiry, will find a full statement by Mr. Adams, in an address delivered by him in January, 1907, before Washington and Lee University entitled *Lee's Centennial*. In addition to the text of the address there is a full review of the literature on the subject in an exhaustive appendix. Mr. Rawle's view is fully set forth, sustained by copious extracts from De Tocqueville's *Democracy in America*. There is also an ample discussion of the attitude of Mr. Webster in the

debate with Hayne, as written by Senator Henry Cabot Lodge in his monograph—*Daniel Webster*.*

There is, or was, a letter among William Rawle's papers, I am informed by a grandson, in which Judge Story wrote him that he had read his *View* and that he differed with him on the question of the right of a state to secede; adding that he would, on the adjournment of his court and his return from Washington, spend a few days with him and discuss the question. *Dissent of Justice Story*

The chapter on this subject is headed by a quotation from Cicero's oration *Pro Marcello*:

Quassata respublica multa perderet et ornamenta
dignitatis et praesidia stabilitatis suae;

an interesting instance of Mr. Rawle's classical scholarship and taste.

His personal contacts with the eminent men of his day were numerous. He knew well the famous physicians, Caspar Wistar, Philip Syng Physick, Samuel Jackson, Nathaniel Chapman and Thomas C. James; the famous chemists, Robert Hare and James Woodhouse; the botanists, William Bart-*Rawle's Contacts with the Men of his Day*ram and Benjamin Smith Barton; the enterprising merchants, Stephen Girard, Paul Beck, Jr. and Thomas P. Cope; the venerable Bishop White, the eloquent preacher Gregory T. Bedell, and the Reverend Nicholas Collin, the rector of Old Swedes' Church; the inventor, Oliver Evans; the artists, Gilbert Stuart, Henry Inman and Thomas Sully; the publishers, Zachariah Poulson, Mathew Carey, and the editor of *The Port Folio*, Joseph Dennie. He spent delightful hours with John Vaughan as he gathered eminent strangers at his breakfast table, and with James Cox, the passionate book collector. At all points was he in contact with the business, intellectual and social life of the city, state and nation. In person above the middle height, yet of symmetrical proportions, with "a head which rose like a tower," his presence in any gathering attracted attention, while his "most bland and courteous

* See address of Charles Francis Adams as published by Houghton, Mifflin & Company, Boston, 1907, and also, American Statesmen Series, *Daniel Webster*, by Lodge, also published by Houghton, Mifflin & Company.

manners," his freedom from aggressiveness of speech, the gentleness of his eyes, the charm of his smile won for him respect and confidence which, as he aged, ripened into affectionate veneration.

*His Legal
Addresses*

A few instances may be given of the commanding esteem in which he was held by the general public and by the bar, all of which occurred during the years of his presidency of this Society. In 1824, he pronounced two addresses as chancellor of the Law Association of Philadelphia, in the first of which he exhibited and discussed our legal system from the days of Penn, and in the second, dealt with the old but ever recurring subject of the delays of the law, and urged practical remedies.* In November, 1829, he was chairman of the meeting called to pay a tribute of respect to the memory of Mr. Justice Bushrod Washington of the Supreme Court of the United States; in September, 1830, he presided over the meeting of citizens "assembled to express their satisfaction at the recent glorious triumph of the principles of liberty in France over tyranny and oppression," effected largely through the magnanimity of Lafayette, and received a personal letter of appreciation from Lafayette himself. In October, 1830, he presided over a meeting of the bar commemorative of Judge Frederick Smith, of the supreme court of Pennsylvania. In September, 1831, he was chairman of the committee inviting Chief Justice Marshall to a banquet in his honor, but the venerable jurist, declining on account of ill health, was then invited to sit for his portrait to the artist Inman. Thus, largely through the intercession of Mr. Rawle, the Law Association of Philadelphia became possessed of one of the most important items in its valuable collections.

*Inman
Paints his
Portrait at
the Request
of the Bar*

In January, 1832, Mr. Rawle was the president of a meeting of citizens convened to consider the measures to be taken relative to the York and Maryland Line Railroad bill then before the legislature. In the preceding December, the graceful compliment was paid of requesting him to sit for his portrait to the artist Inman. Messrs. John Sergeant, Charles

* These addresses are of historic legal importance and are printed in full in Hazard's *Register of Pennsylvania*, X, No. 18, Nov. 3, 1832, and X, No. 19, Nov. 10, 1832, but in reversed order.

Chauncey, Joseph R. Ingersoll, Thomas I. Wharton and William M. Meredith, as a committee, acted for the members of the bar of Philadelphia, "desirous to express their respect and regard for their venerable associate, William Rawle, Esq., and preserve a likeness of one who has contributed so much to do honor to the profession." *

While dwelling at length upon the public and private character of Mr. Rawle, the writer has had no disposition to exalt him unduly. His relationships to men and affairs have been emphasized so that readers may realize the good fortune and sound judgment which attended his selection by men, who were for the most part less than half his age, as their leader in establishing a novel institution destined to take high rank among the educational forces of the commonwealth. Today our charters are so numerous and varied as to attract but little attention beyond the circle of their immediate adherents, but in those days it was an event in civic life to add to the American Philosophical Society, the University of Pennsylvania, the Academy of Natural Sciences, the Academy of the Fine Arts, the Athenaeum, the Franklin Institute, and to the libraries we have thrice mentioned, a corporation dedicated exclusively to the muse of history.

* It is from this portrait by Inman, in the possession of the Law Association of Philadelphia that our copy in oil by William Cogswell was made, the gift to our Society by the copyist, December 11, 1848. Accession Book, I, 47.

CHAPTER VII

Rawle Administration—Mr. Rawle as an Organizer

Appointment of Special Committees—Assignments of Duty—Search for Quarters—Misfortunes of New York Historical Society—Efforts to Secure Historical Material—Borrowed Rooms—Difficulties Encountered—Important Circular—John F. Watson's Suggestions

*Mr. Rawle
Accepts the
Presidency
of this
Society*

MR. RAWLE, in accepting the presidency of the Society in his sixty-seventh year, in the thick of pressing duties, regarded the office not as a mere honor, but as entailing serious responsibilities. We have seen * how from the outset he contended for broad views affecting membership, but without success. We have now to follow him in the steps he took to organize and distribute effectively the work to be done. Of these steps the most authentic evidence remains in his own handwriting in "Memoranda of Transactions by William Rawle, President." This evidence is fully sustained by the official minutes of the Society. The period, covered in consideration, extended from May 2 to October 3, 1825.

*His Ap-
pointment of
Committees*

The standing committee—the origin of our present Council—having been elected, Mr. Rawle "moved for the appointment of several special committees who will also from their nature be standing Committees." The motion was carried, and ten committees were appointed. Their respective designations, the order in which they were named, and their composition as to membership indicate the amount of thought and breadth of view extended to such important matters, as well as the judgment of the president as to the special fitness of each man for the task assigned. Incidentally, we are furnished, in the absence of a roll of members, with the names of those attracted to the Society in its first year.

* *Ante*, Chapter IV.

The committees were as follows:

- I. *On the national origin, early difficulties and domestic habits of the first settlers:* Joseph Parker Norris, Roberts Vaux, Daniel B. Smith, Zaccheus Collins, Jacob S. Waln, Thomas H. White, Charles Yarnall, Reynell Coates, John Singer.
- II. *On the biography of the founder of Pennsylvania, his family and the early settlers:* Roberts Vaux, Samuel R. Wood, Algernon S. Logan, Elwood Walters, Charles Lukens, Ellis Yarnall, William Maule, John Poulson.
- III. *Biographical notices of persons distinguished among us in ancient and modern times:* William Rawle, Roberts Vaux, Joseph Sansom, Clements S. Miller, William Smith, George W. Toland, Samuel Morton, Thomas Evans.
- IV. *On the Aborigines of Pennsylvania, their numbers, names of their tribes, intercourse with Europeans, their language, habits, character and wars:* Benjamin H. Coates, Thomas M. Pettit, Joseph Roberts, Henry J. Williams, James J. Barclay, Charles W. Thomson, Isaac Norris, T. Pennant Barton.
- V. *On the principles to which the rapid population of Pennsylvania may be ascribed:* Charles J. Ingersoll, George M. Dallas, Thomas A. Budd, William B. Davidson, George Randolph, James C. Biddle.
- VI. *On the revenues, expenses, and general polity of the provincial government:* John Sergeant, Joseph R. Ingersoll, Clement C. Biddle, Samuel B. Morris, William M. Meredith, William S. Warder.
- VII. *On the juridical history of Pennsylvania:* Thomas Duncan, Joseph Reed, William Rawle, Jr., John Purdon, Edward D. Ingraham, David Paul Brown.
- VIII. *On the literary history of Pennsylvania:* Joseph Hopkinson, Thomas I. Wharton, George W. Smith, Gerard Ralston, Edward Bettle, John M. Read.
- IX. *On the medical history of Pennsylvania:* Thomas C. James, Samuel Jackson, J. Rhea Barton, Benjamin Ellis, Caspar Wistar, Caspar Morris, Isaac Snowden.

The Personnel of the Committees

- X. *On the progress and present state of agriculture, manufactures, and commerce in Pennsylvania:* Nicholas Biddle, Stephen Duncan, William M. Walmsley, Thomas Biddle, John Hare Powel, Samuel Wetherill, C. M. Pennock, Reuben Haines, Charles A. Poulson, George Stewardson, Roberts Vaux.

*Sketches of
Committee
Men*

A programme such as above mapped out, so comprehensive and yet so detailed, so logical in its successive arrangement of topics, and so exhaustive in its sweep does infinite credit to its author. The names too, included in committee assignments, are of interest to present day genealogists and historians. The faces and personalities of thirteen of these committee men are vividly recalled by the present writer, who saw them frequently in his boyhood, college and law student days. He can recall Doctors Coates, Jackson, and Morris as frequent visitors to his father's house; and Messrs. Williams, Barclay, Norris, Ingersoll, Budd, Biddle, Meredith, Brown, and Wetherill as aged members of the bar. Messrs. Barclay and Ingersoll were particularly quaint octogenarians; Mr. Norris exceedingly handsome with snow white hair; Mr. Biddle gracious and friendly; Mr. Meredith massive and imposing as president of the constitutional convention of 1873, and interesting in the few words that he uttered in arguing the Rush will case; Mr. David Paul Brown as a conspicuous but silent attendant upon the criminal courts, in snuff brown coat with large polished buttons, and mellifluous in reading an address on oratory and orators in Musical Fund Hall; Mr. John M. Read as chief justice of Pennsylvania, presiding over the supreme court for a single year, a veritable Ichabod Crane in appearance, tall and gaunt, with a closely fitting brown wig, huge gold rimmed spectacles, high collar, black satin stock, and bottle green coat cut so as to display an enormous watch-fob dangling from a broad black ribbon; and finally, Mr. Wetherill, the most modern of the group but an affable and charming gentleman in speech, and in dress as if cut from a canvas of Sully.

The painstaking president records: "I sent notices to the first named in each list with the objects of the Committee and the names of his colleagues. Judge Duncan being out of town,

the notice was addressed to and by myself personally delivered to Mr. Read." The impatient spirits urged the appointment of a committee to publish some account of the association, "of this I did not approve—it is premature—[there should be] a committee to procure another room to meet in." At that time the meetings were being held in the room of the Phrenological Society in Carpenters' Hall.

Notwithstanding Mr. Rawle's prudence, the news of the formation of the Society had become public. *The United States Gazette*, for May 10, 1825, contained the following notice: "We have learned that an institution exists in this city, which has for its object the gathering of historical data from the different counties of the state. What has been their success hitherto we have not heard, but it is stated that indefatigable exertions have been made to elicit the information sought. Such a society, co-operating or connected with some of the older institutions of our city, might hope for still greater success; it is to be feared that many associations formed for valuable purposes, fail of effecting their proposed objects, by endeavouring at an existence separate from other established societies, whose pursuits are by no means incompatible with their own."

Press Notice of the Formation of the Society

Mr. Rawle called committee No. 3 to meet at his office on May 28. Roberts Vaux and Joseph Sansom with himself were the only attendants. Nothing daunted, he laid before them "a list of names which I thought deserving enquiry for the objects contained in our appointment, excluding those who will more properly fall within the sphere of No. 7." To himself he allotted as subjects for biographies Sir William Keith, Reverend Richard Peters, Thomas Mifflin, William Lewis, Edward Shippen, Edward Tilghman, William Coleman, William Findlay, and Benjamin West. It is to be regretted that after much searching the only items in this list that can be found are papers upon Keith and Mifflin, and these happily were printed in Volumes I and II of the *Memoirs* of this Society. Forty-seven well chosen biographical subjects were apportioned among the remaining members of the committee, and all were notified of their assignments, but none seem to have complied except Roberts Vaux with an elaborate life of

Work of the Committees

Anthony Benezet, the philanthropist. How great a loss to Pennsylvania biography was sustained through such general indifference cannot be determined. An examination of the list of subjects assigned discloses that there are no names included of which we do not now possess fairly satisfactory biographies, but at what cost to later writers, in their search for material, cannot be known.

*A Search for
Quarters
for the
Society* During the next month—June, 1825—the search for quarters was still unfruitful. On June 15, Mr. Rawle made this entry: “Resolved that Pres. write to Pres. H. Soc. of New York to enquire whether they will give & sell or exchange any of the documents in their possession which peculiarly relate to Pennsylv^a. The reason of this is that it appears their collection of books Mss. &c. is likely to be exposed to public sale. \$200. appropriated ad hoc.”

*A Threat-
ened Dis-
aster to the
New York
Hist. Soc.* The disaster which threatened our older sister was matter of common knowledge. On May 7, 1825, Joseph Parker Norris, the chairman of committee No. 1, wrote to John F. Watson, the annalist, “What do you think of the Mss. of the Historical Society of New York coming under the Sheriff’s hammer? Shall we endeavor to make up a Purse to purchase them?” A more temperate view of the situation appeared in *The United States Gazette* for May 10, 1825, as follows:

The New York Historical Society have been compelled by the state of their funds, to offer at public sale their valuable library. It is a subject of much regret that an institution whose existence is so immediately identified with the literary character of the state, and perhaps of the country in general, should be driven to such an expedient.

A collection of Books like that of the New York Historical Society, is not easily nor readily made, and when amassed, should be guarded with fostering solicitude as the sources of that information which is at present, and will in a few years be *especially*, the themes of our poets, our novelists, and *compilers* of history.

Although the plight of the New York Historical Society presented a tempting opportunity of acquiring valuable material, and an appropriation for the purpose had been made by the resolution already quoted, yet it was not until almost three months had expired that Mr. Rawle wrote the following letter to David Hosack, president:

Philadelphia,
September 12th, 1825.

Dear Sir:

*Mr. Rawle's
Letter to
Dr. Hosack*

The Standing Committee of the Historical Society of the State of Pennsylvania, perceiving in the catalogue of books &c. belonging to the New York Historical Society of which you are President, that there are some books and ancient documents peculiarly relating to our State and which it would not be easy for us to procure elsewhere, have instructed me to enquire whether you would be disposed to part with any of such articles and on what terms.

Our institution has been so recently formed that we have, as yet, no collection from which we could offer to reciprocate, but if any disposition to the effect above mentioned may arise from this application, the proper means of carrying into effect on our part will be supplied.

With the greatest respect and esteem I am,
Dear Sir, your friend and servant

W. Rawle
Pres. of the His. Society of Penn.

The explanation of the delay is given in a note which Mr. Rawle appended to his copy of the letter. Mr. Thos. I. Wharton had undertaken a visit to New York to secure information concerning the material to be disposed of, and on his return reported "that the Society seemed to be suspended. He could find nobody who seemed to take any part in it. Their library was locked up, &c.

*Vain Efforts
to Obtain
Information*

When Mr. Moulton was here last winter, I could not discover from him who was the President. He spoke of John V. N. Yates of Albany as a principal member.

It was not till yesterday that I perceived Dr. Hosack was the Presidt. I wrote to him—& on the recd his answer."

Unfortunately the answer, if ever received, was not noted, and the blank was never filled in the Rawle Memoranda. A search for it among the other Rawle papers in possession of this Society was unsuccessful. An examination of the accession book of the period fails to disclose any material coming from that source. As there was no actual collapse of our sister society traceable in her existence, it may be reasonably conjectured that the crisis passed without the loss of possessions.

Application to the American Philosophical Society In the following month (October, 1825) an application was made, through a committee consisting of the president and Joseph Hopkinson and Roberts Vaux, to the American Philosophical Society for "the Mss. papers in their possession touching the early history of Pennsylvania, or for copies of such as may be found desirable." In the following February a curt reply accompanied a refusal, in these words: "Resolved that it is not expedient to grant the request of The Historical Society of Pennsylvania."

A Curt Refusal

Application for the Penn-Logan Papers In the meantime, Roberts Vaux, Charles J. Ingersoll and Isaac Norris were appointed a committee to consider the propriety of making an application to Deborah Logan for the manuscript correspondence of William Penn and James Logan which she had prepared for publication. It will be recalled that this was a matter which had been under negotiation years before, between Mrs. Logan and Mr. Du Ponceau as secretary of the Committee on History and Literature of the American Philosophical Society.* Its delicacy and difficulty led to a long delay in securing the coveted papers, and it was not until 1870 and 1872 that a part of these precious papers were published by this Society in Volumes IX and X of its *Memoirs*. The history of the publication will be given in its proper place.† It is sufficient for the present to note the attempt to

Published Partially in Vols. IX & X of the Memoirs of the Society

* *Ante*, Chapter III.

† See Vol. I of this *History*, Chap. XXIX.

secure the manuscripts as illustrating the efforts put forth by the Rawle administration.

While the efforts just noticed were in progress, it appears from the minutes of the Council that William M. Walmsley, Thomas H. White and George Washington Smith, who had been appointed on May 18, as a committee to procure suitable apartments for the Society, after several times reporting progress, definitely announced to the Council, on September 21, 1825, that they "had taken the South East room in the Philosophical Society's Hall (upstairs), and are to be furnished with fire and candles at a rent of fifty dollars per annum." The minutes of the Society show that the last quarterly meeting of the Society had been held on August 1, 1825, "at the apartments of the Phrenological Society," that an adjournment had been had to September 19, and that under that date "An adjourned meeting of the Society was held this day at the apartments (procured by the Standing Committee for the Society) over the Athenaeum." These entries should be read together as supplementing each other in their descriptive touches, and there should be added the facts, derived from the records of our older sister, that the Athenaeum had in 1818 leased two rooms on the south side of the first floor of the building of the American Philosophical Society, and remained there until removal in 1847 to the present building of the Athenaeum at Sixth and Adelphi Streets. This would place our own Society on the second floor in the south east corner of the Philosophical Society's building, a space at present thrown into the general hall of the last named society.

*Quarters
Secured
for the
Historical
Society in
Building of
the Philo-
sophical
Society*

Even these details leave the character and extent of the new occupancy in doubt, a tenancy that was to exist, though with much dissatisfaction, for nineteen years. That the occupancy was small, unsatisfactory, and not exclusive may be judged from the following circumstances.

On February 15, 1826, the original committee of three was instructed "to ascertain whether a more suitable room for meetings and for the library cannot be obtained." A week later, the committee was continued and Mr. Gerard Ralston, the curator, was added to its membership. On April 19, and June 21, the committee reported progress; on August 16, a

*Evidence of
Inadequacy*

written report was presented, "designating several rooms in different parts of the City and submitting the choice to The Council. The report was accepted and the Committee discharged." No choice was made, but the contemporaneous adoption of a resolution that the curator arrange with Mr. Vaughan of the Philosophical Society for the erection "of suitable book-shelves in some convenient part of this hall" would indicate a determination to bear "the ills" they had, rather "than fly to others that" they "know not of." *

*The Borrowing of
Rooms for
the Delivery
of Addresses*

In September a proposition to open the room of the Society to the public once a week was adopted. That the accommodations for a general meeting were insufficient is apparent from the facts that the inaugural address of the president was delivered by special arrangement in Professor Chapman's lecture room in the University of Pennsylvania, and that the anniversary discourse by Roberts Vaux was read in the hall of the Franklin Institute, which had been borrowed for the occasion. And so the record of borrowing auditoria from the museum and the circuit court ran for several years. The shelving plan seems to have come to naught, for mention is made of the use of "a small closet," and in August, 1829, a committee was appointed "to consider the means and expediency of procuring a Book case." In the following November the same committee was "charged with the duty of enquiring for a room suitable for the meetings of the Society." Two restless years followed.

*Efforts to
Secure
Enlarged
Quarters*

On May 7, 1832, James J. Barclay and William M. Walmsley were appointed a committee to "enquire into the expediency of removing the present place of meeting to one more suitable for the collection and preservation of books belonging to the Library." To the same gentlemen was referred, with the addition of the president, the consideration of the following important resolution certified from the minutes of the Athenaeum: "Resolved that William Smith, Samuel Norris, Jacob Gratz & Roberts Vaux be a Committee to confer with Committees of other literary & scientific socie-

* Of the celebrated John Vaughan we have a portrait in oil by Sully, the bequest of Esther F. Wistar, and an exquisite miniature, the gift of Mina G. Porter.

ties of Philadelphia on the subject of providing an edifice for the accommodation and safe keeping of their libraries and cabinets, and the general uses of those institutions, with power to enquire whether any part of the Girard Fund can be applied to the purchase of a lot and the erection of buildings for the contemplated purpose."

Nothing came of this effort to consolidate affiliated interests, for we find that on April 9, 1833, at a special meeting, the Council promptly tabled the recommendation of the weary room hunters, which they had hopefully presented in tempting form as follows: "Resolved that the future meetings of this Society be held at the College of Pharmacy in Zane Street, apartments in which the Proprietors offer to this Society at a rent of 25 dollars per annum."

On July 17 of the same year, we find the Society on its knees to Mr. Vaughan of the American Philosophical Society, Dr. Coates and Samuel Hazard being appointed a committee "to ascertain whether the place between the front windows of the room occupied by the Society can be obtained for a Book case belonging to the Society." On December 17, 1834, a new committee was appointed, this time consisting of the fresh spirits of Joshua Francis Fisher, Thomas I. Wharton and James J. Barclay "to enquire for a room for the accommodation of the Society." They met with no success. Thereafter, efforts to secure a change of quarters during the administration of Mr. Rawle ceased, to be renewed, as we shall see, under his successor.

*Failure of
the Effort*

Cramped quarters shared with another body, presumably the Philosophical Society, was not the only item on the list of woes. The minutes, both of the Society and of the Council, disclose, particularly during the years 1829, 1830, 1831 and 1832, the frequent want of a quorum. The venerable President once or twice found himself alone, at other times with but Roberts Vaux, Dr. James, and Mr. Wharton in attendance. As ill health dogged his declining years, and a climb up three steep flights of stairs was trying to stiff knees, he was himself often absent, and Roberts Vaux, the vice-president, or sometimes the Hon. Thomas M. Pettit, was in the chair.

*Difficulty of
Obtaining a
Quorum
at the
Meetings*

*Mr. Rawle's
Record of
the Diffi-
culties he
Encountered*

It is distressing to read in the Rawle Memoranda entries such as these: "Acting Committee ought to have had a meeting—but those who attended found the door locked. Qu. If G. W. Smith is not absent from town. (he was not—he called & made an apology to me, being delayed at the steam boat with some ladies"; again: "A quorum to take up the proposed alterations of the Const. not appearing an adjournment for two weeks"; again: "Called the biographical Committee together—Present Roberts Vaux, C. S. Miller and Thomas Evans. No one had done anything"; again: "Appointed a meeting of the biographical committee. I put off all other appointments & remained at home but *not an individual came!*"; again: "After two applications to Mr. Pettit (our Secretary) rec'd. a copy of the Minute appointing Comm. to apply to Am. Ph. Society for leave to inspect & publish some of their historical papers. . . . Mr. Pettit is inattentive in not sending the names of the Committee men." Again: "At the Council disagreeable scene last evening—in consequence of a motion to admit Mathew Carey as a member." Once more; "The publishing Committee having contracted with Carey & Lea for printing the 2d half vol. on the same terms as the former I was called on with the subscription paper—signed as before for 3 copies. The old subscription was lost. I found only 95 copies had been taken—leaving on our hands 55 copies—qu—where they are." This is the last entry in the Rawle Memoranda, which cover only the year 1825.

*Mr. Rawle's
Effort to
Secure an
Enlarged
Member-
ship*

The rejection of Mr. Carey was doubtless due to his foreign birth. In this connection it will be recalled that we have alluded to the efforts of Mr. Rawle to secure the right of membership to those other than *native* born.* The Rawle Memoranda contains the following pertinent entry: "19th Sept. [1825] Hist. Society met Subject of amendment debated. The whole question came forward on the first amendment proposed i.e. to strike out the word 'native'—& after a long debate it was lost by a majority of 13 to 12—as I did not vote—the numbers were in fact equal except that W. R., jun., who was present declined voting." This act of the son relieved the father from the necessity of breaking a tie by a

* *Ante*, Chapter IV.

casting vote, and illustrates the fine sensitiveness of both gentlemen in matters of self restraint so characteristic of the old school of good manners. Later, one of the majority moved a re-consideration of the question, which was adopted, and the *quaestio vexata* was adjusted as has been stated in the preceding chapter.

We turn now to a record of achievements, and considering the difficulties which have been reviewed, they were not only impressive but bore the richest fruits in bringing to us from the munificent generosity of the Penn family some of our most precious possessions.

The first important step towards the accumulation of material was taken in the publication of a circular, which read as follows:

Philadelphia, June 21, 1825.

Sir—

A number of persons, feeling an interest in the collection and preservation of whatever may conduce to the knowledge of the History of Pennsylvania, have formed a society under the title of 'The Historical Society of Pennsylvania.'

*An
Important
Circular*

Their objects are to trace all the circumstances of its early settlement—its successful progress and its present state;—to collect all the documents and written or printed evidence, and all the traditionary information that may still be attainable, and, after having thus acquired possession of sufficient materials, it will be the office of one or more committees, to select what may be deemed generally interesting and instructive, to methodise and arrange it, and to lay it in a proper form before the public.

It is obvious that the more copious these collections are, the greater will be the means of a judicious and satisfactory selection, and it is therefore the ardent hope of the Society, that persons in possession of documents of the nature

described in the following list, will feel a common, it may be said a patriotic interest, in contributing to the general purpose, by favouring the Society, either as donations or loans, with any works of the following description, viz.

Original letters, books, journals or narratives of the early settlers of Pennsylvania, or of any distinguished persons among us in later times. Narratives relative to the Indians; wars or treaties with them; and the general intercourse between them and Europeans, or among the Indians themselves. Vocabularies or other indications of their language. Accounts of missionaries, public messengers and travellers among them.

Any facts or reasoning that may throw light on the doubtful question of the origin of the North American Indians.

Copies of records, and proceedings of any public bodies, of a political, religious, literary, or other character, that have at any time existed among us.

Accounts of universities, colleges, academies, and schools, their origin and progress.

Topographical descriptions of cities, towns, boroughs, counties, or townships.

Accounts of the population, births, longevity, deaths, endemial or local diseases—facts relative to climate, meteorological remarks, general employment or peculiar customs of each district.

Biographical notices of any eminent persons, or of any persons in respect to whom remarkable events may have happened.

As it is the intention of the Society to form an ample library and cabinet, it will gratefully receive all donations of books, pamphlets, or manuscripts, on any subject or of any date; medals, coins, or any other article deriving value from historical or biographical affinities; Indian idols, ornaments, arms, or utensils, &c.

The name of the donor will be noted in the library or the cabinet, and in the journals.

Be pleased to address your communications to Joseph Hopkinson, Corresponding Secretary, or Gerard Ralston, Curator of the Society.

By order,

William Rawle, *President*.

Joseph Hopkinson, *Secretary*.

Plainly, this admirable circular was the product of a penetrating as well as experienced and comprehensive mind, bold in its sweep and exact in its details. A better one could not be produced today with full knowledge of all our vast possessions; but composed, as it was, in anticipation of acquisitions of any sort, it stands as an original chart for voyages of discovery yet to be undertaken, and mapped imaginatively with astonishing precision.

It is conclusive evidence of the range of Mr. Rawle's acquaintanceship to find in his Memoranda a "List of persons to whom I sent circular letters & afterwards handed the forms to Mr. Hopkinson." The list contains 185 names, entirely in Mr. Rawle's handwriting, with no alphabetical or geographical arrangement, but so mixed in all respects as to indicate that he wrote them down "as they came into his head." Those addressed were in all parts of the commonwealth, from Pittsburgh to Easton, from Muncy to Newtown, Bucks County; and in other states, from Skaneateles, N. Y. to New Castle, Delaware, and also from Harrisburg to Washington, D. C. It is interesting to note the names of John Quincy Adams, President of the United States, and of the famous trio Daniel Webster, Henry Clay, and John C. Calhoun, while among our own citizens are those of Bishop White, Simon Gratz, Mathew Carey, Joseph Sansom, and others whose family names still constitute an important section of the backbone of our present membership. Most important, in its consequences, was the inclusion in the list of the names of John Penn, Richard Penn and Granville Penn, of Richmond, Surrey, and of Stoke Park, Colnbrook, Bucks, England. It was also a tactful, as

*The Extent
of Mr.
Rawle's
Corre-
spondence
as President*

*The Grand-
sons of Penn
Elected to
Membership*

well as appropriate, act to make the three grandsons of William Penn, honorary members of the Society.*

The circular above quoted drew a response from one whose tastes, education and habits were in sympathetic accord with its appeal. In spite of its length, the value and timeliness of its suggestions, and the distinction of its authorship justify extended quotation from the original letter in the possession of the Society, addressed to "Wm. Rawle, Esqre. (Senr.) President of The Historical Society of Pennsylvania."

Germantown Sept. 26, 1825.

*Important
Suggestions
of John F.
Watson*

I am much gratified at the formation of an Historical Society of Pennsylvania, & fondly hope it will prove, as it should, a safe asylum for preserving the perishing & scattered memoirs of our country.

I beg leave to call to your attention, a subject which I deem worthy of your special regard—It is to appoint, from among the Members of your Society, scattered over the State, such Persons, for special agents, as may make it their special business to rescue from oblivion, the facts of personal prowess, achievements, or sufferings, by officers & Soldiers of the Revolutionary War—I believe the recitals of many brave men, now going down to the Tomb,—of what they saw, or heard, or sustained, in that momentous struggle which set us free, would form a fund of anecdotes & of individual history, well deserving of our preservation. Many Privates 'unknown to fame' peculiarly distinguished by their actions, would thus receive their just memorial—For instance I know a man now alive upon the Susquehanna (Zenas Macumber) a private in Genl Washington's body guard, who served in *all* the War & received *Seventeen Wounds*—The Recitals of such a man of his Escapes from the 'imminent & deadly breach,'

* See *post*, Chapter IX, 130-31.

might form some interesting pages. Such remarkable characters are Still alive in many of our Counties—The history of the various enterprises of such a death daring Hero as Colo Tallmadge of Conct, (not any where published, but known to the writer) would if recorded, afford the most interesting incidents in our Historic pages—Being of a *personal* & anecdotal character, they would move the feelings, & bring things ‘home to our bosoms,’ in a manner, which the *generalities* of our Revolutionary Struggles could never effect—I therefore anxiously desire, that this subject may be deemed worthy of your earliest attention—Surely it may, if rightly managed, yield a full harvest to diligent Labourers in this Employ—Take for instance, the sum of all which could be gleaned, as the personal observation & individual incidents of each member of the present Cincinnati Society of Philada!

If this project should meet your approbation, I would also propose, that you should, by addressing similar Historical Societies, throughout the Union, set them severally upon similar & consentaneous researches—This thing, if generally effected, would produce a Treasure of Eventful facts, for enlarging our moral pleasures; & give subjects for poetry, painting, & imagination, to enlarge upon & perpetuate. Letters containing specific Queries composing the whole design, might be formed to facilitate these Enquiries—I myself, *I say it for your encouragement*—have instituted such specific enquiries respecting the Washington Family in their individual & domestic relation, as will I am satisfied, give such a moral painting of Washington to the eye of the mind, as no Biography of that Great Man, has ever succeeded to give.

Permit me also to suggest another subject of Enquiry worthy of your early attention—It is to get reports from agents on the spot, of the incidents connected with the original settlements of Towns & Counties contrasted with their present improvements—If the Pioneers still alive in some of the interior settlements would set down the difficulties they encountered—the state of Woods, marshes, country &c—anecdotes of themselves & neighbours—amusing or interesting facts of their aboriginal neighbours—Their friendship & help from some of them—or their occasional services in Block houses & Indian alarms—From proper instituted Enquiries (of which such a moving book as Cooper's *Pioneer*, would suggest many hints) very many facts might be elicited, which would furnish to future generations the themes of many interesting Stories—Such a record of village facts & stories, as I have in my mind's eye, while I write, I have actually accomplished for my own village of Germantown—: tracing the incidents from the settlement in 1683 downwards—If this proposition should meet your approbation, I should then propose, that your scheme should be recommended to the adoption of all the Sister Societies in the Union—The new States on the Frontiers might in this way rescue from oblivion many of their perishing Legends—They now abound in tales if Collected & treasured which might equal many of the best perpetuated in Song & Story among the Highland Clans—

Very respectfully

JOHN F. WATSON.

P.S. Let me recommend to you to possess while you may a copy of the Ephrata Cronicle—printed near Lancaster in German—It con-

tains many historical facts, respecting the first Settlers—altho' it is chiefly designed as the history of some Religious Communities—Two copies are here in Germantown—but not to be bought or disposed of—

Mr. Rawle replied promptly, according to a rough draft, as follows:

Sept. 28, 1825.

Sir—

*Mr. Rawle's
Reply*

I have just now received your letter of the 26th inst. & highly approve of the suggestions contained in it—on my motion ten special committees have been appointed & every member has been attached to one or another of them—

Within the sphere of the Committee No. 3 appointed to collect “biographical notices of persons distinguished among us in ancient & modern times” your ideas will easily fall—

It is my intention in the inaugural address which I am requested to deliver—to enlarge to some extent on the duties of all ten Committees.

I am respectfully y^r

W. RAWLE.

To John F. Watson, Esquire,
Germantown,
Pennsylvania.

CHAPTER VIII

Rawle Administration — Activities of the Society

Addresses — Vaux — Wharton — Rawle's Inaugural — Inquiries as to Washington's Farewell Address — Vaux and Coates upon the Indians — Gifts to the Society — Fisher's Studies of Penn — Penn Relics

*Literary
Activities
of the
Society*

THE literary activities of the Society were opened in earnest in September, 1825, by Roberts Vaux and Thomas I. Wharton, the former appearing before the Society on the 19th instant, and the latter before the Council two days later. For some years it was the practice for less confident speakers to try out the merits of their compositions before the lesser body instead of facing a larger audience, but the final award of fitness was publication in the *Memoirs*, irrespective of the place of origin. Several papers presented to the Council fell by the wayside, while others, though in the shape of communications, were deemed worthy of perpetuation in type.

*Mr. Vaux's
Paper on
Penn's
Treaty with
the Indians*

Mr. Vaux, under the title of "A Memoir on the Locality of the Great Treaty between William Penn and the Indian Natives in 1682," * sustained the tradition that the treaty was made "at Schackamaxon, under the wide spread branches of the great Elm tree which grew near the margin of the Delaware, and which was prostrated during a storm in the year 1810." He combated the speculations of those who insisted that the treaty had taken place at Upland or Chester, "the interesting theatre where the *Great Law*, was given, and where the first assembly of the representatives of the freemen of Pennsylvania convened soon after the arrival of the founder." He declared that he had sought in vain for proof to sustain the latter contention, and argued strongly that it was highly improbable that a ruler of the pacific principles, benevolence, and discernment of Penn would ask the natives to treat with him in amity at a place *protected by military posts*. He as-

* *Memoirs of the Hist. Soc. of Pa.*, I, 77-98.

sembled an interesting series of letters he had obtained from venerable correspondents, including Deborah Logan, the Rev. Nicholas Collin, and Judge Peters, which carried personal recollections of visits to the spot in childhood and linked them with traditions handed down by their sires. All were in harmony, he pointed out, with the accounts given by Proud in his history and by Clarkson in his life of Penn. He quoted also Benjamin West's recollections of spending his boyhood days as far back as 1755 in play with schoolmates beneath the tree, and cited how the British general, Simcoe, had placed a guard about it to protect it from the axes of his soldiers, solely out of respect for the tradition.

In a letter to John F. Watson, dated "Phila. 11 mo. 12, 1825," Mr. Vaux pleasantly alluded to his paper in these words: "I have had my own troubles about the Treaty Tree. —Never was any matter covered with more doubt and contradiction; but at last I think I have got at the facts of the story, & with such will put myself at hazard before the world—I should like to read the essay for thy criticism before it is published. The elm was examined when it fell in 1810 & found to be *283 years old*, and it measured *8 feet in diameter* (or 24 ft. in circumference)." *

Mr. Wharton's paper was entitled "Notes on the Provincial Literature of Pennsylvania," † and has extraordinary

* It is no part of the duty of the present writer to endeavor to solve historic doubts. It is enough to note the discussion of them as episodes in our growth as a Society. It may be remarked, however, in passing, that Mr. Vaux's memoir did not settle the doubt. It rather served to kindle it afresh. His paper appeared in Volume I of our *Memoirs*, published in 1826. In Part II of Volume III, published in 1836, we find Mr. John F. Watson contributing a paper upon the treaty, which was immediately followed by an elaborate memoir on the same subject from the joint authorship of Messrs. Du Ponceau and J. Francis Fisher, which, though clearing the mind in some respects, perplexes it in others, while the views of these gentlemen are strongly contested by that most accomplished student, the late Frederick D. Stone, for many years our librarian, in an exhaustive review published in Volume VI of *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*. We may well expect that the final words have not yet been written. Some document or letter may yet be found that will cause a re-examination of the matter. Whatever may have been the character and date of the treaty, its location under the Shackamaxon elm is generally acquiesced in.

† *Memoirs of the Hist. Soc. of Pa.*, I, 99-157.

Mr. Whar-
ton's Paper
on Provin-
cial Litera-
ture of
Pennsyl-
vania

Extent of
the Posses-
sions of the
Society

merits as an original discussion of the issues of the Pennsylvania presses beginning four years after the arrival of Penn, "sowing broadcast the seeds of knowledge and morality." Beginning with an *Almanac* for the year 1687, by Daniel Leeds, "printed and sold by William Bradford, near Philadelphia" in that year, and following the disturbing Keithian controversy through its phases of religious bitterness and schism which "gave the first impulse to Literature in Pennsylvania," he mentions an interesting feature* of the trials of Keith and Bradford and others for seditious libels in the accidental destruction of evidence against the printer by the collapse of the frame of type through the unskilful handling of a juryman.* Enough has been presented to whet an appetite for reading Mr. Wharton's paper. To follow him in detail would swell these pages inordinately. Suffice it to say that of newspapers and pamphlets, polemical, political, scientific, legal, moral, literary, religious, philanthropical, historical, descriptive and statistical, and of the score of books from Gabriel Thomas to Logan, Franklin, Rittenhouse, Godfrey, Bartram, Dickinson, Smith, Hopkinson and Blackstone, illustrating the body of Mr. Wharton's text, not a single copy of any of the fifty items was in the possession of the Society at the date of his paper, while today a recent examination of its vaults and shelves reveals present ownership of 90 per centum of these inestimably precious *memorabilia* of our Colonial period in their original editions, and of the remaining 10 per centum there are reprints, a goodly harvest sprung from the seeds sown by the pioneer hands of Vaux and Wharton.

* This feature, which gives high color to David Paul Brown's account of the case in the Forum, and accepted by Mr. John William Wallace in his *Address upon William Bradford*, delivered in 1863 before the New York Historical Society, and by Mr. Charles R. Hildeburn in his *Issues of the Press in Pennsylvania*, was disputed, in 1892, by the Hon. Samuel W. Pennypacker in his *Pennsylvania Colonial Cases*, in reporting the cases of the Proprietor vs. George Keith, William Bradford, Thomas Budd, and Peter Boss, in 1692. Those interested, not alone in the history of our native literature, but particularly in the history of the birth upon Pennsylvania soil of the doctrine of the liberty of the press will find ample material for mental digestion, quite apart from the celebrated case of John Peter Zenger in 1735, whose successful defence by Andrew Hamilton of Philadelphia gave rise to the ubiquitous phrase concerning a Philadelphia lawyer. See Vol. I of this *History*, Chapter XXIV.

On November 5, 1825, a special meeting of the Society was held at 12 o'clock at Professor Chapman's lecture room in the University of Pennsylvania, which by purchase in 1800 had become the owner of the building on the west side of Ninth Street. This building stood in the middle of a lot extending from Market to Chestnut Streets, and had been built by the legislature of Pennsylvania, under an Act of September 30, 1791, to serve as a residence for the President of the United States, so long as Philadelphia should continue to be the seat of the national councils. There, President Rawle, according to previous arrangements, read his inaugural discourse,* as the minutes record, "before a large audience, consisting (in addition to the members of the Society) of citizens and strangers, including many ladies."

His opening words, so free from the elaborate mock modesty of other orators of the period, attribute to the founders the exclusive honor of the foundation.

*Mr. Rawle's
Inaugural
Discourse*

The intention to form this society, was unknown to me, till your partiality led you to request me to undertake the office of President, and however unqualified, I have not hesitated to accept it. I have been led to this conclusion partly from the respect I felt for those who honoured me by the selection, and partly because I have long wished to see an institution of this sort established among us.

He told "the plain and humble tale" of the one hundred and forty years elapsing since "the peaceful companions" of William Penn landed on the shores of the Delaware.

Except their friend and guide, they numbered no distinguished character among them; . . . no candidate for superior rank, no emblazoned warrior, no lofty member of a proud aristocracy: they were humble men of moderate fortunes—most of them adherents to a sect of recent origin whose motto was meekness and benevolence.

* *Memoirs of the Hist. Soc. of Pa.*, I, 21-78.

Their departure from their native lands was unrestrained and almost unnoticed. In quietness they embarked and in quietness they landed. . . . They encountered no embittered foe, they met no indignant natives thronging to resist them, . . . [for they came not to conquer but to cultivate] the soil; to conciliate, not to extirpate the natives—to earn their bread by labour, not to acquire wealth by the prodigality of chance, the pursuit of precious metals, or by reducing the helpless natives to slavery.

The Importance of Study

He touched upon the character of the settlements of Friends, prior by some years to the date of Penn's charter, at Salem and Burlington, New Jersey, paid a tribute to the Dutch and Swedish settlements already established, and analyzed the elements of that success which had accompanied our progress. He emphasized the duty of becoming acquainted with ourselves, "to ascend to the rudiments of social existence; to elicit theory from facts, and not to imagine facts for the purpose of supporting theories; and thus, if possible, to discover by what means, order, peace, and happiness have been, or hereafter may be rendered most permanent and secure." Thus did he unconsciously rebuke a tendency of the times as expressed in the fine sentence of Nisbet: "The modern skeptical philosophy consists in believing everything but the truth, and *exactly in proportion to the want of evidence*, or to use the words of the poet, in making windows that shut out the light, and passages that lead to nothing."

The Aims of the Society

He dwelt upon the aims of the Society: "To collect all the materials, that have not yet entirely disappeared, to preserve all the abundance which the events of every day supply, and to hand them down in authentic form to posterity." He declared that "illiterate nations, depending on oral tradition, soon become ignorant of their own history." He reviewed briefly the work of the historical and literary committee of the American Philosophical Society, and attributed its final failure to its limited membership, which narrowed the public

interest. He urged, in words which we of today should seriously ponder, words which we have italicized, because of their merit: "*The members of an historical society ought to be numerous, perhaps unlimited. All who feel a strong interest in its general views ought to be admissible, and every inhabitant of our state ought to feel that interest. All should be excited to throw into one receptacle whatever they possess of original or instructive matter—not to be locked up till it moulders into oblivion; but to be subject to the immediate process of careful investigation, till by comparison and selection, such results may be drawn as our cotemporaries may receive with satisfaction and posterity with advantage.*"

*Liberality
in Member-
ship should
be Encour-
aged*

These words are still winged. The arrows of the consummate archer are still in flight towards the bosoms of those who are in possession of papers which can in no true sense be regarded as private, because forming a part of the history of the times in which their original possessors were conspicuous actors. A considerable part of the treasures of the Society are due to the voluntary gifts of those patriotic and public spirited citizens whose generosity was touched either consciously or unconsciously by the moving words of Mr. Rawle.

It was to accomplish the ends in view so admirably stated that the president had appointed the ten special permanent committees which have been enumerated in preceding pages. The objects of the charges entrusted to each committee have been stated, and need not be enlarged upon. It was in fuller exposition of each distinct purpose that the main body of the inaugural discourse consists. A careful re-reading of it but confirms our appreciation of the clear conception of the plan formulated by the sagacious President, and of the masterly craftsmanship displayed by him in devising the machinery of execution. In following his successive expositions of the character and scope of the work of each committee, it is plain that he attached prime importance to that which related to the aboriginal inhabitants of Pennsylvania, and incidentally of all this vast country. More than one half of the address is devoted to Indian origins, Indian customs and conduct, and Indian titles, subjects evidently long familiar to the thoughts and studies of the speaker. Taken as a whole the discourse is

*Mr. Rawle's
Conception
of Those
Aims*

The Indians

a procedural chart, and considering the entire absence of precedents, for none were furnished by the older societies, it must be regarded as of original value, and the product of a thoughtful and far-seeing mind. The closing passages carry a direct message to ourselves. Here are the words:

*The
Peroration*

In conclusion, I have only to express an ardent hope, that this society will not, like too many others, be marked only by vivacity of inception, apathy of progress, and prematurity of decay.

In the variety of its objects, something may be found to interest every one.

The treasury of literature is grateful for the widow's mite. Let all contribute what they can, and they will contribute what they ought: let no opportunity be lost for throwing into the common stock, not only what may be collected of times that are past, but whatever may be of interest in relation to time that is present.

*Mr. Rawle's
Industry*

Mr. Rawle set an example of indefatigable industry to his far younger colleagues. Within four months of his elaborate inaugural discourse he presented "Papers relative to the Valedictory Address of President Washington," * consisting of original letters in reply to his searching inquiries into the authorship of the immortal document which we of this generation are accustomed to call *The Farewell Address*. His correspondents were Judge Bushrod Washington, John Jay, Chief Justice Marshall, Judge Peters, Nicholas Fish, the surviving executor of Alexander Hamilton, and D. C. Claypoole, the editor of the *Daily Advertiser*, in whose paper publication was first made. The matter was of such interest, owing to some doubt as to the extent of the share of Hamilton in the composition, that it was referred to a committee, consisting of William Rawle, Sr., Benj. R. Morgan and Charles J. Ingersoll. The committee reported that the *mistake* in supposing that Hamilton was the author originated in the possession by Hamilton of a copy of the address in his *own handwriting*. The assump-

* *Memoirs of the Hist. Soc. of Pa.*, I, 231-258.

tion, from this fact, that Hamilton was the author was negatived by the researches of the committee, and, for the time being, was conclusively disposed of by the assertion of Mr. Rawle, that he had personally examined the manuscript in Claypoole's possession, and that the paper was throughout in Washington's hand. It should be mentioned that Mr. Claypoole asserted that he had requested and obtained permission of President Washington to retain the manuscript from which he had printed the address.*

*Inquiry Into
Authorship
of Wash-
ington's
Farewell
Address*

But a few days passed, and Mr. Rawle read to the Council "A Vindication of the Rev. Mr. Heckewelder's History of the Indian Nations" † from assaults made upon it in the *North American Review*. It was a spirited defence of an old personal friend, and based on unusual knowledge of the native tribes. He contributed also a "Biographical Sketch of Sir William Keith." ‡ Three years later—in October, 1829—he read before the Council "A Sketch of the Life of Thomas Mifflin," § a most important paper as a basis for the studies of the future biographer of the long neglected Mifflin, the man who as president of the Continental Congress received the surrender of Washington's commission as commander-in-chief, and who was for nine years the governor of Pennsylvania under the constitution of 1790, our first real constitution. With this paper the literary labors of President Rawle in the service of our Society were ended.

*Other
Papers by
Mr. Rawle*

But two annual discourses, as they were called, were delivered before the Society during the term of Mr. Rawle as president, the first being by Roberts Vaux on January 1, 1827, || and the second by Dr. Benjamin H. Coates on April 24, 1834. ¶

*Annual
Discourses*

* Doubts once started die hard, and it was left to the master mind of Horace Binney, many years later, to assemble and analyze all the evidence, and report his conclusion, to the effect that, while there was evidence of Hamilton's participation in the nature of suggestions, corrections and recasting of some sentences, yet the *authorship*, in the true sense, both of the ideas and their expression, was Washington's. Mr. Binney's book, for such it became, is entitled *An Inquiry into the Formation of Washington's Farewell Address*.

† *Memoirs of the Hist. Soc. of Pa.*, I, 258-275.

‡ *Ibid.*, I, 423-430.

§ *Ibid.*, II, 105-126.

|| *Ibid.*, II, 7-55.

¶ *Ibid.*, III, pt. ii.

*Mr. Vaux's
Account of
Relations
with the
Indians*

The Council made strenuous but unavailing efforts through committees in the intervening years to induce someone to undertake the task. Notwithstanding the separation in point of time the two addresses were closely related in their subjects. That of Mr. Vaux covered with some detail the relations of the proprietary government with the Indians from the days of the founder to those of Governor Denny, closing with an account of Colonel John Armstrong's destruction of the Indian village of Kittanning in September 1756. This was an event of such importance as to lead to the striking of two commemorative medals in Philadelphia by Joseph Richardson, silversmith, whose grandson, John Richardson, through Mr. Vaux, presented impressions of both to the Society which are still among its curios.

*Dr. Coates
on Indian
Population*

Dr. Coates' discourse was suggested to him by President Rawle, and dealt with the "Origin of the Indian Population in America" * at considerable length in a learned way. The speaker had qualified himself by special studies, and seven years before had communicated to the Society "A Narrative of an Embassy to the Western Indians from the original manuscript of Hendrick Aupaumut," an Indian negotiator under Timothy Pickering.†

*Gifts of
Letters to
The Society*

It was impossible, of course, in dealing with Indian affairs in Pennsylvania to omit extended references to the enlightened principles and benevolent policies of William Penn, and hence there is much to be found in the first three volumes of the *Memoirs*, relating directly to Penn himself. Original letters of William Penn addressed to the Lord Keeper North, to the Earl of Rochester, and to the Marquis of Halifax, were presented by the widow of Dr. John Syng Dorsey, among whose

* *Memoirs of the Hist. Soc. of Pa.*, III.

† *Memoirs of the Hist. Soc. of Pa.*, II, 61-131. The reader will find in Volumes I, II, & III of our *Memoirs* a valuable mass of Indian material from the pens of Messrs. Rawle, Vaux and Coates, under the titles stated in our text, indicating how largely Indian affairs engaged the attention of our earliest members. The curious reader, if he turn to these essays written without the aid of modern ethnology, cannot fail to be amused at the serious difficulties experienced, especially by Dr. Coates, in struggling to explain racial differences without skepticism over the old doctrine of a common descent from the original Adam.

papers they had been found, as inherited by him from his grandfather, Edmund Physick, an officer under the proprietary government. President Rawle presented letters addressed to his ancestor Robert Turner, and other letters addressed to James Logan and to Samuel Carpenter, while Thomas I. Wharton contributed copies of the will of William Penn, with the codicils, together with the opinions of counsel thereon, displaying an interesting conflict of view as to the validity of the trusts created. There were also documents, containing instructions from William Penn, Jr., to Governor Keith, and letters from the uncle of William Penn's widow to James Logan.

Stimulated by these examples of a generous public spirit, the young Joshua Francis Fisher, destined to take a leading part in fostering the interests of the Society for more than forty years, was incited to transcribe from the original and present to the Society, in May, 1827, the instructions given by William Penn, in the year 1681, to his commissioners for settling the colony, a document of fundamental importance.* On the same day, Mr. Fisher presented "A List of the Instructions, Letters &c. from Thomas and Richard Penn, Proprietaries and Governors of Pennsylvania to James Hamilton, Esq.," which had been rescued by him from destruction, and, with praiseworthy liberality, donated to the Society the *originals* of one hundred and two items mentioned in the list, retaining for his own collection but a small number of letters of private rather than public interest. The next year Mr. Fisher transcribed from the original minutes of the provincial council in the handwriting of Patrick Robinson—a task of the utmost difficulty and patience as those familiar with the handwriting of Robinson well know—"A Speech of William Penn to the Council on April 1st, 1700."†

Still later, Mr. Fisher, returning from a visit to England, presented to the Society copies of "Inedited Letters of William Penn,"‡ in the possession of the Hon. John Penn, the originals having been addressed to Algernon Sidney, King James II and

*Gifts of
Joshua
Francis
Fisher*

* *Memoirs of the Hist. Soc. of Pa.*, II, 213–221.

† *Memoirs of the Hist. Soc. of Pa.*, II, 185–190.

‡ *Ibid.*, III.

*Mr. Fisher's
Studies of
Penn*

to the Duke of Marlborough, accompanied by a copy of the memorial laid by William Penn before the Lords of Trade, containing charges and complaints against Colonel Quarry for acts of aggravation against Pennsylvania in reference to the laws of trade and navigation. Finally, Mr. Fisher delivered a graphic and instructive discourse on "The Private Life and Domestic Habits of William Penn," * embodying the results of his examination of the original cash book of Penn and his letters of business to his agents in Pennsylvania, and weaving into the narrative anecdotes and traditions drawn from authentic sources. In the most spirited fashion he challenged as well as destroyed many popular misconceptions of Penn's character and personal appearance. In criticizing Benjamin West's celebrated picture of the treaty under the elm, he wrote: "Our Pennsylvania Painter, besides his unpardonable misconception in representing the graceful and athletic Penn, at the age of 38, as a fat old man, of very ordinary appearance, has put him and his companions in dresses, which, if they ever wore at all, they certainly did not till nearly 30 years after the settlement of Pennsylvania."

*The Private
Life of
Penn*

Mr. Fisher pictures the easy grace and manly carriage of Penn, his perfect self-possession as a man of the world, his wit as well as good sense in conversation, his freedom from fantastic dress and fanatical opinions, his seriousness and courage in maintaining his religious and philosophical views; his establishment fit for an English gentleman of landed estates, his stables, and equipages, his blooded mares, and stallion of Arabian strain, his barge on the Delaware, with his boat-swain and coxswain and six oarsmen, displaying a broad pennant with the proprietary's arms; his ceremonious opening of the Assembly, or when presiding in the high court of the provincial council; his receptions of the governors of Virginia and Maryland in state with relays of horsemen on each county line; his manor house of Pennsbury with its stately front of sixty feet, flanked by a kitchen, a larder, a wash-house, a bake-house and a brewery; his table service of damask cloths and napkins, blue and white china, polished pewter dishes and

* *Ibid.*, III.

silver forks; his high backed carved chairs of solid oak and darker walnut, his couches with cushions of plush and satin. These were not "frivolous fripperies," nor "inexcusable superfluities," nor "unprofitable things of state"; they were the dignified accompaniments of a gentleman of position accustomed to the life of courts, and in keeping with his exalted office as proprietary and founder. His cash book besides showing that his cellars were well supplied with beer, cider, sherry, then known as sack, madeira, canary and claret, showed also liberal and frequent gifts to the sick, the aged, the poor and the distressed, in prison and out of it.

The closing passages of Mr. Fisher's discourse merit quotation: *Mr. Fisher's
Tribute to
Penn*

As the associate of statesmen, the counsellor of Princes, the friend of the worldly and the witty, he was neither dazzled by splendour, nor seduced by pleasure; enjoying rank and influence, his heart stood the test of prosperity, as well as it sustained the trials of persecution and adversity. Concerned in affairs of state, he was guiltless of intrigue; possessed of power, he was never arbitrary; prodigal in his expenses, but only for the public good; in want of money, he was still a patriot. Such was the Founder of Pennsylvania.

He then quoted the testimony of Reading Meeting in England as the evidence of Penn's contemporaries and neighbors, who knew him last and best:

He was a man of great abilities—of an excellent sweetness of disposition—quick of thought, and of ready utterance,—full of the qualifications of true discipleship, even 'love without dissimulation'; As extensive in charity, as comprehensive in knowledge, and to whom malice and ingratitude were utter strangers; so ready to forgive enemies, that the ungrateful were not excepted. . . . In fine—he was learned, with-

out vanity—apt without forwardness—facetious in conversation, yet weighty and serious—of an extraordinary greatness of mind, yet void of the stain of ambition—as free from rigid gravity, as he was clear of unseemly levity—a man—a scholar—a friend—a minister, surpassing in speculative endowments—whose memorial will be valued with the wise, and blessed with the just.*

*Further
Papers
Relating
to Penn*

Mr. John R. Coates followed Mr. Fisher's example by presenting "Letters of William Penn to King Charles II and to the Earl of Sunderland," from authenticated copies obtained in London.† Mr. Job R. Tyson, also a young man destined to be active for many years in the service of the Society, presented, in 1830, a paper to be reckoned with by all students of Penn's career entitled "An Examination of the Various Charges Brought by Historians against William Penn both as a Man and as a Political Governor."‡ Temperate in tone, but ample in knowledge, thorough in analysis and masterly in grasp, this admirable paper reviews and confutes the attacks of Franklin, of Gordon, and of lesser antagonists.

We have dwelt at length upon the contributions made by members during the administration of Mr. Rawle, concerning the Founder of the commonwealth because they bore ripe fruit in bringing to the Society some of the most precious of its possessions, and laid the basis for its subsequent acquisition of the Penn Papers which form so characteristic, so fitting, and so indispensable a part of its equipment as an institution devoted to the history of Pennsylvania. We have felt it to be a duty to our readers to display the impressive evidence of the extent and the success of the efforts put forth by Mr. Rawle and his zealous coadjutors in meeting the obligations of the charter, efforts so sincere and effective as to convince the

* "The Private Life and Domestic Habits of William Penn," by Joshua Fisher, *Memoirs of the Hist. Soc. of Pa.*, III, 65, *et seq.*

† *Memoirs of the Hist. Soc. of Pa.*, II, 239-247. The original of the letter to the Earl was sold by Samuel T. Freeman & Co., Auctioneers, to Louis J. Kolb of Philadelphia, in March, 1928, for \$11,000.

‡ *Ibid.*, II, 127-157.

descendants of Penn in their distant English homes of our entire worthiness to receive heirlooms of unrivalled historic importance, accorded to us with a rare liberality, as magnanimous as it was unselfish.

The acquisition by the Society of objects immediately connected with Penn had proceeded slowly, and with a serious setback in one instance. Joseph Sansom, a prominent citizen and active in the development of real estate, whose name is still carried by an important central street, was the first of our donors. In May, 1825, he presented a silver medal of William Penn. In the following September, Jeremiah Warder, through Mr. Wharton, offered to deposit "in the Cabinet of the Society a Clock which was once the property of William Penn; the offer was accepted, and T. I. Wharton authorised to receive the same." So reads the minute of the Council. The minutes of the Society contain no reference to the matter, but the accession book, under date of 21 Sept. 1825, contains this entry "Jeremiah Warder offers William Penn's clock." A later entry in a different handwriting, but without date, adds the words "does not appear to have been accepted." A third scribe has superadded, also without date, "Presented by his son to the Philada. Library." *Penn Relics*

It makes the heart sink to think of what was lost through the lack of a cabinet, for doubtless the delicacy of Mr. Wharton induced him to be frank with Mr. Warder. Nobly, however, did Mr. Wharton seek to compensate us for our loss, for we find that on July 18, 1827, he presented to the Society a "Shaving Bason and Ewer formerly in the possession of William Penn."

And now for the important Penn gifts, so important that they deserve a separate chapter.

CHAPTER IX

Rawle Administration The Penn Gifts

*The Armor Portrait — Proofs of Authenticity — The Blue Sash —
Penn's Ring — Publication of the Memoirs of the Society — Wat-
son's Annals — Literary Output of the Rawle Administration —
Death of Mr. Rawle*

*First and
Second
Volumes of
the Memoirs
of the
Society*

VOLUME I of the *Memoirs* of the Society was published in 1826 and 1827, in two parts, dated some six months apart. Volume II also in two parts, was published at intervals in 1827 and 1830. Together, the two volumes contained the matter which we have reviewed, but the type and paper of all four parts differ considerably from each other, thus indicating wide gaps between the actual dates of printing each discourse or communication. All were directed by the Council to be gathered together and handsomely bound in two volumes and sent to Granville Penn, Esq., the grandson of William Penn. Apparently, there had been some prior correspondence between President Rawle and Mr. Penn in which the latter, who was a somewhat prolific writer, was invited to favor the Society with copies of his various works. Repeated searches have failed to discover among our papers copies of Mr. Rawle's letters, but the following letter, which is self-explanatory, is in our archives:

Richmond } 5th Jan^r. 1833.
Surrey }

Sir,

*Letter of
Granville
Penn to
William
Rawle*

I must appear to you a greater defaulter than I really am, with respect to the very gratifying wish you expressed to me some years since, of receiving Copies of the Publications I have ventured at different times to offer to the World. I shall briefly state the Causes of this long delay.

Shortly after the Receipt of your flattering letter, and before I was prepared to conform to its contents, the death of my very near Relation, the late Lady Cremorne, to whom I became both heir and Executor, called me off from all literary matters, by the peculiar intricacy of my trust, which was immediately followed by a very perplexing Suit in Chancery, which lasted some years.* Within two years, from the death of Lady Cremorne, a heavy domestic affliction operated still further, and for a long time, to estrange me from all attention to my Publications; which estrangement was presently succeeded by an affection of my sight, which obliged me to suspend, for above a twelve month, the exercise of my desk. When this affection was in a good degree removed, the Sale of my Residence & estate of Chelsea threw my family into an unsettled State for Some time; and it is only within the last two years that I have been sufficiently resettled to engage in the completion of a work which has occupied all that time, and which has this moment issued from the Press. This work, with all my former Publications, I shall now have the pleasure of offering, through you, for the acceptance of the Historical Society of the State of Pennsylvania.†

* *Lady Cremorne*, touchingly alluded to in the above letter, was the grand-daughter of William Penn, whose mother, Margaret, the fourth child and second daughter of William Penn and Hannah Callowhill, married Thomas Freame. She was born in Philadelphia in 1746, where her parents were then living, and was baptized *Philadelphia Hannah*, and became on May 8, 1770, the second wife of Thomas Dawson, an Irish gentleman, who in that year was made Baron Dartrey, and, in 1785, Viscount Cremorne, both titles being of the Irish peerage. She survived her husband thirteen years, residing at Cremorne Gardens in London, on the Thames, dying in 1826 as stated in the above letter. Her portrait, with that of her husband on the same canvas, was painted by Sir Joshua Reynolds, and shortly before his death in 1867, was given by Granville John Penn, son of Granville Penn, to the Earl of Dartrey.

† The publications referred to in the foregoing letter were as follows: *Memorials of the Professional Life and Times of Sir William Penn, Knt.*;

*Gift to
the Society
of the
Armor
Portrait
of William
Penn*

With these, I shall send a very perfect Portrait of William Penn, your Founder & my Grandfather, painted when he was at the age of twenty two years. As we have in our family duplicates of this Portrait, I have long been desirous of depositing one of them in the City which owes its origin and existence to him; but, until now, I have not found myself free to indulge that reasonable desire. Having however at length acquired the power of doing so, it is with feelings of no ordinary emotion, that I shall present that Portrait to the Honourable Society of which you are President.

Mess^{rs}. Wildes & Co., of 19 Coleman Street, London, having informed me, that the Thames will Sail direct for Philadelphia on the 1st of the next month, February, I prefer detaining my two Cases for that conveyance, to the Sending them earlier to New-York; in order to avoid the inland Transits. I shall not fail to give you Notice of the Shipment of the Cases, by letter.

I remain, Sir, with every due Sentiment of respect to yourself, and your Honourable Society,

Your obedient Servant
Granville Penn

P.S.

I beg leave to add, that I have three Sons, in
Granville John } Manhood, one, or all, of
Thomas Gordon } whom, would be much grati-
William } fied, if the Society should
think fit to admit them as honorary Members.*

Virgil's Fourth Eclogue; Observations in Illustration of Virgil's Celebrated Fourth Eclogue; An Examination of the Primary Argument of the Iliad; A Comparative Estimate of the Mineral and Mosaical Geologies; The Institutes of Christian Perfection, of Macarius the Egyptian; and The Bioscope or Dial of Life, Explained.

* At a meeting of the Council, held March 20, 1833, on motion of President Rawle, "Granville John, Thomas Gordon, and William Penn, of England, sons of Granville Penn, were, . . . balloted for and elected Honorary

My family unites with me in best Compliments
to your Soc.—

Gr.P.

The "very perfect Portrait," referred to in the letter just quoted, is the celebrated "Armor Portrait" now hanging in the auditorium of the Society, so called because it depicts Penn as a young cavalier, of the rank of captain, in a suit of shining armor. His long locks, parted in the middle, reach to his shoulders; a handsome piece of lace is wound several times about his neck, and the ends, gathered at the throat, rest on the polished breast plate. The resemblance to his father, the Admiral, as in Sir Peter Lely's portrait, is quite remarkable. The large eyes are dreamy, but of intense and direct earnestness, and emphasize the personal beauty of the countenance, while revealing the contemplative, well balanced mind and gentleness of disposition, now generally known to have been conspicuous features of his character. The artist is unknown, but his skill in the delineation of spiritual and intellectual traits is unmistakable. The canvas itself contains the date of the painting. Upon the middle of the background to the left are the words, in three lines: "Aetatis 22, 1666, October 11th," and upon the middle background to the right—the words, in two lines: "*Pax Quaeritur Bello.*" The date of Penn's birth was October 14, 1644.

*The Armor
Portrait*

Mr. Sydney George Fisher, in *The True William Penn*, has indulged in some doubts as to the authenticity of the picture, mainly because it differs from the Bevan carving of the nose. Clearly Mr. Fisher was unaware of the letter just quoted, as well as of the fact that in the second volume of the *Memoirs* of Admiral Penn, by Granville Penn, opposite to the text of a letter, dated "Dublin, 4th July, 1666," and signed "Your most obedient son, W.P.," there is a fine steel line engraving by Finden after the Armor Portrait, accompanied by the statement: "The annexed plate is copied from the only portrait of

*Answer to
Doubts as
to Authent-
icity*

Members of the Society." The first named became our benefactor by inheritance, visiting us in March and April, 1857, and at a meeting of the Society, April 13, presented to the Society the precious *Wampum Belt*, delivering an interesting historical address concerning it, an event which will be noticed in the text of Chapter XVII, *ut postea*.

William Penn, (afterwards the celebrated quaker), that was ever painted. It was taken at the time of this correspondence, when he was twenty-two years of age. The medallions of his head, which are in common circulation, have been taken from a profile in clay executed after his death, from memory, by Mr. Silvanus Bevan."

*Proofs of
Authen-
ticity*

There is an earlier stipple engraving of the same portrait, without the engraver's name, which appears as the frontispiece of *The General Address of the Outinian Lecturer to His Auditors*, published in London in 1822. The Outinian Society was founded by John Penn, of Stoke Park, Buckinghamshire, third son and fourth child of Thomas Penn and Lady Juliana Fermor, who was the fourth daughter of Thomas, first Earl of Pomfret. Thomas Penn was the second son of William Penn by his second wife, Hannah Callowhill. In the text of the *General Address* are these words: "William Penn was, at the time mentioned, of the age of twenty-two; appearing as he is represented in armour in his Portrait, in a room adjoining to this, where I have the honour of addressing you; which bears the date of October 1666." The room referred to was at Stoke Park. The same statement is also to be found in the Volume I, Part I, of the *Records of the Origin, and Proceedings of the Outinian Society*, published in London in 1822, an autographed copy of which was presented by John Penn to William Rawle, and presented to this Society by Mr. Charles Sinnickson in 1875. The same statement is to be found in the "Valedictory Address," delivered at Stoke Park, by Mr. Richardson, first Outinian Lecturer, on December 31, 1818, a copy of which, in the original paper cover, was presented to the Society by William Brooke Rawle, Esq. in 1893. This cumulative evidence disposes of Mr. Fisher's doubts. It is unthinkable that Granville Penn would have been guilty of either insincerity or duplicity in making a gift to the Society of the armor portrait now in its possession.

*Cumulative
Proofs*

Howard M. Jenkins, in his *Family of William Penn*, says that the *original* portrait of the armor type is at Pennsylvania Castle, in the Isle of Portland, formerly the property of the Penns, recently owned by J. Merrick Head, Esq., and that another copy belongs to Captain William Dugald Stuart of

Tempsford Hall, in Bedfordshire, a descendant in the sixth generation from William Penn. That several copies or duplicates existed in the family is frankly stated in Granville Penn's letter, but this fact no more militates against the authenticity of our copy, than does the existence of many replica portraits of Washington from the brush of Gilbert Stuart.

On April 9, 1833, a special meeting of the Council was held, those present being Rawle, the president, and Messrs. Du Ponceau, James, Vaux, Hazard, Walmsley, Vaughan, Barclay, Wharton, Fisher, Elwyn, Coates and Tyson—names which advise the reader how largely the active management had passed in eight years from the founders. "It was ordered that the Portrait of William Penn remain in the care of John Vaughan, Esq. unless it be sent for by the President, who, if he deem proper, may send it to the Academy of Fine Arts at the commencement of the next annual exhibition." At the same time it was "resolved that the thanks of the Society be presented to Granville Penn, Esq. for his valuable presents."

The Temporary Loan of the Portrait

Diligent search has failed to produce a copy of the letter which it is reasonable to suppose was sent by Mr. Rawle to Mr. Penn. Nor have we been able to ascertain whether the portrait was loaned to the Academy, and, if so, how long it remained there.* We do find that in the *Catalogue of the Paintings and Other Objects of Interest belonging to the Historical Society of Pennsylvania*, published in 1872 shortly after the removal from the Athenaeum building to the "West Picture House" on the Spruce Street side of the grounds of the Pennsylvania Hospital, that the portrait is described as "entirely authentic," and that it was placed on the stairway leading to the main hall. It is also stated in the catalogue that S. A. Schoff of Boston "an engraver thought to have no superior in this country," working from a crayon drawing by William Hunt of Newport, Rhode Island, as well as from the painting, produced, after more than two years' labor, "a steel plate that has been pronounced by critics to be quite equal to anything of the kind ever executed in America." The plate was presented, May 13, 1872, by Mr. Townsend Ward, who had served as the

Engravings from the Portrait

* There is a tradition in the American Philosophical Society that Mr. Vaughan was the custodian for many years. This is highly probable.

Librarian of the Society from 1852 to 1862, and who was ever active in its affairs during his useful life. Impressions from this plate have never been sold, but at Mr. Ward's request any person subscribing to the publication fund received a copy. In this way the engraving found an entrance into many homes. Early impressions are now of value.*

*Continued
Interest
of Gran-
ville Penn
in the
Society*

The interest of Mr. Granville Penn in our welfare continued without abatement. In May, 1834, he sent to Mr. Rawle "a correct copy" of a "Memoir of Part of the Life of William Penn" by a Mr. Lawton, a friend of the great Lord Somers, who declared: "I had the happiness to converse frequently, and as inwardly as if we had been Brothers, with Mr. Penn, almost thirty years before his death." It is full of interesting personal particulars concerning Penn's relations with James II and his ministers, and gives instances of the manner in which Penn benevolently exercised his tactful and persuasive powers even with Jeffreys, the notorious Lord Chancellor, in securing pardons for several who had incurred the royal displeasure. The paper, as printed in Volume III of the *Memoirs* of this Society is worthy of perusal, and has been called to the attention of the reader in explanation of the reference made to "Lawton's papers" in the following letter:

Stoke Park
Colnbrook
24th Sept. 1834

Dear Sir,

I had the pleasure, three days ago, of receiving your letter of the 19th of August, which gave me the satisfactory intelligence that Mr. Lawton's papers had arrived safely to your hands.

* Later, a fine steel engraving, from our Armor Portrait, was executed by W. G. Armstrong, with the arms of Penn-Gaskell, as described by Burke, with this inscription: *To Peter Penn-Gaskell, of Shannagarry, Esquire, The ancient seat of the Penns, In the County of Cork, in Ireland, This Print of his Ancestor, William Penn, Proprietary of Pennsylvania, A.D. 1682, Is inscribed A.D. 1877, by The Historical Society of Pennsylvania.* A brilliant impression from this plate forms the frontispiece to the first volume of *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, published by the Society in 1877, and also to *The Family of William Penn, Founder of Pennsylvania Ancestry and Descendants*, by Howard M. Jenkins—published by the author at Philadelphia, in 1899.



Granville Penn, 1761–1844
Grandson of William Penn

By the Ship Alleghany, Capt. Michaels, which will sail in about a fortnight for Philadelphia, I shall send a Case, addressed to you, as President of the Historical Society &c, containing the following articles, which I beg to present, through you, to your Society: viz.

*Further
Gifts by
Granville
Penn to
the Society*

1. Two Portraits of Indian Chiefs, which belonged to my late father; but respecting which we have no record, or tradition.

2. A well painted View (by the late DeCort, of Antwerp) of the Quakers' Burial Ground at Jordans, and Grave of William Penn.—This picture was painted several years ago for my late brother. To give it Something of an historical character, it supposes Montesquieu Visiting William Penn's Grave: it is a Very accurate representation of the locality.

3. A Small Portrait of Patrick Gordon, who was Governor of the Province from 1726 to 1736. Proud States his Government to have been, 'prudent & prosperous.' This portrait may be esteemed interesting, as showing the Costume of y^e time.

4. I have made an unsuccessful attempt to procure for the Society the *Blue-Sash* which William Penn wore at his Treaty with the Natives; as you will see by the accompanying letter from M^r. Kett, who is possessor of it. I do not, however, give up the hope of obtaining it, as I have two persons about to renew the Solicitation, who have influence with him.

*The Blue
Sash*

With this, you will receive, for the Society, enclosed in Cork, a ring in which I have caused to be inserted part of a lock of William Penn's hair, cut off by his wife in 1715, & by her left to her daughter, the mother of the late Lady Cremorne, from whom I inherited it. To prevent *reasonable Scepticism* as to the identity of the hair, I had it inserted in the ring before my

*Penn's Hair
in a Ring*

eyes; so that the hair has not been a moment out of my Sight, until it was closed up for this packet.

When you next favour me with a letter, I will beg you to mention, whether you know of a Small Volume, in the Swedish language, intitled *Nova Swevia sive Pennsylvaniae Descriptio*.

I wish, also, to Know, whether a Work in Latin Verse, often quoted by Proud, intituled, *Pennsylvaniae Laus*, exists in print, & can be obtained?

I remain, Dear Sir,
With Very Sincere Respect
Most faithfully Yours

GRANVILLE PENN.

William Rawle, Esq^r.
President
&c &c &c

P.S. / I beg all Letters from Philadelphia to be directed to me at Stoke Park, near Colnbrook, Bucks.

Gr. P.

P. S. 25 Septr.

I further enclose an account & Plans of the Burying Ground at Jordans, which will tend to elucidate De Cort's Views of that Place.

Gr. P.

*Portraits
of Indian
Chiefs*

The information concerning the Indian chiefs was promptly supplied by Roberts Vaux, J. Francis Fisher and Job R. Tyson as a committee, identifying them as *Lappawinsoe* and *Tishcohan* or *Tishekunk*, or *Tishishan*, two of the chiefs who had signed, in 1737, the treaty for the Walking Purchase. The portraits, as well as that of Governor Gordon, had been painted in Pennsylvania in the year above named, either by a Swede named Hesselius, who had painted a portrait

of James Logan, or by Robert Feke, the only limners then known in the province. All these pictures are in the possession of the Society.*

The Blue Sash, referred to as the fourth item in the foregoing letter, which Granville Penn was so anxious that we should acquire, is now happily in our possession, but it was not obtained until June 21, 1919. The first printed reference to the sash appears in Clarkson's life of Penn, as follows:

*The Blue
Sash*

There was at Shackamaxon an elm tree of a prodigious size. To this the leaders on both sides repaired, approaching each other under its widely-spreading branches. William Penn appeared in his usual clothes. He had no crown, sceptre, mace, sword, halberd, or any insignia of eminence. He was distinguished only by wearing a sky blue sash † round his waist, which was made of silk net-work, and which was of no larger apparent dimensions than an ordinary officer's military sash, and much like it except in colour.

The next reference in print to the sash is given in the second part of the *General Address* of the Outinian lecturer, previously referred to in our text. After criticizing West's painting of the treaty with the Indians as habiting Penn entirely in plain garb, the lecturer speaking at Stoke Park, the seat of John Penn, and in the presence of the owner, said: "He [Penn] seems, however, for a purpose of *immediately* useful distinction, to have also, himself, worn a sort of silken girdle of net-work, of a shape and texture resembling a military sash of the present time, and which is still in existence. In color, however, it differed from that part of a military officer's dress, seeming indeed, by its *ethereal* blue, somewhat typical of very different events from the ravages of war." A footnote states: "It is in the possession of G. Kett, Esq. of Seething Hall, Nor-

*Proofs of
its Authen-
ticity*

* See *post*, Vol. II, Chapter XIII.

† This sash is now in the possession of Thomas Kett, Esq. of Seething-Hall, near Norwich. Thomas Clarkson, *Memoirs of William Penn*, I, 339, 340.

folk, by the favor of whose son, the High Sheriff of that county for the year 1820, the fact has been communicated, that it was received as the present of a neighbour by one of his ancestors, from Mrs. Mary Penn, daughter-in-law of the Founder of Pennsylvania."

This daughter-in-law, née Mary Jones, the daughter of Charles Jones, a merchant of Bristol, married, January 12, 1698, William Penn, Jr., the sixth child, and second son of William Penn by his first wife, Gulielma Maria Springett. The first born son of William Penn, also named William, died in infancy. Thus the title to the sash is shown to have been in the widow of the oldest of Penn's married sons, he who proved so worthless, and burdened his father's heart with heavy sorrow. He neglected his wife and children, and died in 1720, his wife surviving until 1733. Hence, the possession of the sash came normally into her hands, and from her it passed to Mr. Kett.

*Further
Proofs*

Granville Penn's letter states that he had been unsuccessful in his effort to persuade Mr. Kett to part with it, but does not explain how Mr. Kett obtained it. Fortunately, he forwarded to Mr. Rawle the original of Mr. Kett's letter of refusal, and that letter, having been preserved in our archives, furnishes not only a confirmation of the statement made in Clarkson's note, repeated with greater particularity in the footnote to the descriptive text of the Outinian address, but most happily furnishes the means of positive identification of the sash, now in our possession. The letter reads as follows:

Brooke House 12 August 1834

Sir

*Letter of
Mr. Kett*

I beg to acknowledge your letter of the 8th addressed to my late Father, & in answer have to inform you, that William Penn's sash, is now in My possession, as is also a Silver Tobacco box, which came into our family through the same channel, being both given to my Great Grandfather by Mary, the Widow of William Penn the younger, between whose families great intimacy I have understood existed. By a memo-

randum in my Father's hand writing, it appears these things, (or at least the sash) were given by Mary Penn in the year 1726. My Father always looked upon these relicts of the great Founder of Pennsylvania with much veneration, & I confess I inherit his feelings on the Subject, so much, that I cannot persuade myself to adopt the suggestion contained in your letter of parting with so interesting a memorial as the one in question.

I remain very respect^r
Your ob^t. Sev^t.

GEORGE S. KETT

Granville Penn Esq^r.*

We now add an extract from the librarian's report to the Council Meeting, June 23, 1919, in reporting accessions:

A blue silk sash from Miss M. Fassitt, its history is the following:

'The sash worn by William Penn in his Treaty with the Indians.

The gift of Mary widow of William Penn, Jr. to George Phillips of Stoke Ferry, Norfolk, about 1726—in the possession of Thomas Kett.'

This sash is referred to in Clarkson's Life of William Penn and also in letters.

*Inscription
on old Card
Attached to
the Blue
Sash*

The sash in the possession of the Society is of pale blue, "ethereal blue," somewhat time faded, but of a character and quality exactly corresponding with the description given by the Outinian lecturer, and has an ancient time stained card attached containing the words just above quoted, *and that card is identified by Mr. George S. Kett's letter as being in his father's handwriting*. Thus is the chain of proof complete in all its parts.†

* Letter from the Archives of The Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

† How did Miss Fassitt become possessed of the sash? Unfortunately Dr. Jordan, the librarian, in receiving the sash from her hands did not note an answer to the question in 1919. The writer ascertained that unhappily Miss Fassitt's memory had failed in 1925, when he was penning these pages.

The ring containing Penn's hair, so exactly certified to by his generous grandson, is one of the most highly prized of our curios. The Council, February 3, 1845, prescribed that it "be hereafter worn by the President at the meetings of the Council and the Society," but only one instance of the observance of this direction is known. It was worn by President Pennypacker, while delivering his address at the formal opening of the new fireproof building of the Society—its present Hall—on April 6, 1910. With the present administration the feeling is strong that it is better to forego the privilege than to risk possible objection that the ring will not fit the finger of every president, being too large for some and too small for others, furthermore, the temptation to display it to the curious, anxious to handle it, might become too urgent to resist.*

Contents of the Memoirs Published by the Society; Vols. I, II, III In addition to the attention paid during the administration of President Rawle to affairs connected with the Indians and with Penn and his governmental policies, and other subjects noticed in our review, the *Memoirs* and *Proceedings* of the Society disclose much matter illustrating the scope and breadth of these early activities. James Dunlop, Esq., a member of the senate of Pennsylvania from Franklin County, contributed an important "Memoir on the Controversy between Penn, and Lord Baltimore, Respecting the Boundaries of Pennsylvania and Maryland"; † Dr. John Watson furnished "An Account of the First Settlement of the Townships of Buckingham and Solebury in Bucks County"; Dr. Thomas C. James presented a "Brief Account of the Discovery of Anthracite Coal on the Lehigh"; Mr. Redmond Conyngham, of Carlisle, supplied "Some Extracts from Papers in the Office of the Secretary of the Commonwealth at Harrisburgh"; Dr. Caspar Morris discussed "Contributions to the Medical History of Pennsyl-

He found, however, a witness—the late Mrs. John Sims—to the fact that Miss Fassitt confided to her that she possessed it under a sense of duty, that together they visited the Girard Trust Company, removed the sash from deposit, and together delivered it to Dr. Jordan.

* For the gift of the Wampum Belt, see *post*, Chapter XVII. For the acquisition of the Penn Papers, see *post*, Vol. I, Chapter XXVII. For Penn family, see *post*, Vol. II, Chapter VII. For portraits of the Penns, *ibid.*, Chapter XIII.

† See *post* as to boundary line, Vol. I, Chapter XXVII.

vania"; Edward Bettle traced with diligence "Notices of Negro Slavery as Connected with Pennsylvania"; Charles West Thomson read "Notices of the Life and Character of Robert Proud," the first of the professed historians of the state, and at the same time presented a chair and cane of Robert Proud, obtained from the family with whom he resided during the latter part of his life.*

Then came Mr. Conyngham, for a second time, with an "Account of the Settlement of the Dunkers at Ephrata," to which was added a "Short History of that Religious Society," by the Rev. Christian Endress of Lancaster; Ebenezer Hazard followed with a "History of the Introduction of Anthracite Coal into Philadelphia," and annexed a letter from Jesse Fell of Wilkes-Barré on the "Discovery and First Use of Anthracite in the Valley of Wyoming"; Isaac Comly gave lively sketches of Byberry Township in Philadelphia County; describing Friends' Meetings, the Keithian controversy, early hardships of living, household economies; tales of witchcraft, marvellous apparitions, omens and strange occurrences; hunting adventures in pursuit of bears, raccoons, wild turkeys and wild pigeons; election disturbances leading to violence at the polls; the presence and gradual disappearance of slaves; the pillage of farms during the Revolution, the improvement of agricultural methods; the presence of Indian basket makers who used vegetable dyes. In Benjamin Gilbert, Byberry produced an author who published a treatise against war in answer to Gilbert Tennent, in 1748, and, also, a treatise on original sin. This township also produced John Comly's treatise on English grammar, which, passing through fifteen editions, drove out the more voluminous Murray; established a public library, sent one of her sons to the convention to frame a constitution for Pennsylvania, placed another on the common pleas bench, and fought successfully the Hessian fly by the liberal use of manure in the sowing of wheat.† Samuel Breck related "An Historical Anecdote of Mr. John Harris, Sen.," the founder of Harrisburg; Dr. B. H. Coates prepared an elabo-

Continuation of Contents of Memoirs of the Society

* All of these can be found in Vol. I of the *Memoirs* of the Society.

† Few, if any, of those passing daily through Byberry, think of these honorable incidents in her history.

rate "Notice of the Life of Samuel Powel Griffiths, M.D."; Joshua Francis Fisher reviewed "Sir William Keith's Coming to the Government of Pennsylvania, with his Conduct in It," an essay found among the papers of James Hamilton, the Lieutenant Governor of the Province, written in 1726, which Mr. Fisher thought might be attributed in authorship to the celebrated barrister, Andrew Hamilton. John F. Watson drew up "Memorials of Country towns and Places in Pennsylvania." * Two works of importance were produced in this period: "A Short Description of The Province of New Sweden, Now Called, by the English, Pennsylvania in America," by Thomas Campanius Holm, translated from the Swedish by Peter S. Du Ponceau, and "The History of the University of Pennsylvania, from its Origin to the Year 1827," by George B. Wood, M.D. Both of them are of interest and of value to present historians.†

*Two Works
of Importance
Published
by the
Society*

*The Three
Volumes of
Memoirs*

Such then was the literary output of the Society during Mr. Rawle's administration. The first three volumes of the *Memoirs* contain an aggregate of 1,439 pages, the result of the voluntary exertions of our officers and our members in the space of ten years, in their efforts to fill in the outlines of the plan sketched by the master hand of the president and entrusted to his ten committees. We have endeavored to present a résumé sufficient to enable our readers to judge of the character and the value of these enthusiastic labors. In their variety and comprehensiveness, as well as in their details, they display the differences between our ancestral stocks and sects, and supply us with vivid pictures of former days, as full of fresh color in the springtime of our history as our pastoral landscapes in May, with no stains of blood, no blackened homes, no deaths from arrows or Indian tomahawks, but bright with the blossoms and redolent of the fragrance of simple and virtuous lives spent in the sunshine of the principles of Penn.

A work of unique interest and of lasting fame belongs to this period. Although strictly an individual enterprise, yet its publication was encouraged by the action of the Society and the author was the first to employ and the first to carry the

* These are to be found in Vol. II of the *Memoirs*.

† Published in Part I of Volume III of *Memoirs of the Hist. Soc. of Pa.*

distinction upon a title page of those pass words to the considerate attention of the studious, "Member of The Historical Society of Pennsylvania." We have seen in Chapter IV that Mr. Vaux had urged upon the now famous annalist, John Fanning Watson, as far back as September, 1824, the placing of his manuscript at the disposal of a Society yet to be formed, and that Mr. Watson had received the suggestion with favor. Six years had passed. Mr. Watson had been diligent in completing his task, and the Society had earned the right to crown an author with bays.

*Watson's
Annals*

At a stated meeting, held in the hall of the Society on the evening of June 7, 1830, it was

Resolved,—That the Society being informed that JOHN F. WATSON, Esq. one of its members, was about to publish a work entitled 'ANNALS OF PHILADELPHIA,' which having been examined and found to be authentic, curious, and highly interesting in many respects, it is recommended to the patronage of those who feel an attachment to our city, and take an interest in its primitive character.

Ordered, that a copy of this resolution be furnished to John F. Watson, Esq.

ROBERTS VAUX, Vice President.

JOSHUA FRANCIS FISHER, Secretary p.t.

In the Advertisement prefacing his *Annals* Mr. Watson thus expressed himself:

*Watson's
Advertisement*

This work, dedicated to the Historical Society of Pennsylvania by one of its members, is designed to revive the recollections and the peculiar traits and characteristics *of the olden time*; to give to the present race of Philadelphians curious and amusing facts from *times by-gone*, of which few or none have had any proper conception. It is an effort to rescue from the ebbing tide of oblivion, all those fugitive memorials of unpublished facts and observa-

tions, or reminiscences and traditions, which could best illustrate the domestic history of our former days. As such a work is without example for its imitation, it may be deemed *sui generis*, in its execution. . . . To Philadelphians settled in distant countries, these particulars concerning 'Sweet Home' would present the most welcome gift their friends here could offer them. . . . Scanty therefore as these crude materials may prove, *fiction* may some day lend its charms to amplify and consecrate *facts*; and 'Tales of ancient Philadelphia' may be touched by genius and made immortal!

The prophecy in the Advertisement had been fulfilled, according to Mr. Watson in 1842, by *Meredith, or the Mystery of the Meschianza* and *A Tale of Blackbeard, the Pirate*. To these we may add George Lippard's *The Quaker City*, Paul Ardenheim, *The Rose of Wissahickon*, Weir Mitchell's *Hugh Wynne* and *The Red City*, and, by close relationship, Bayard Taylor's *Story of Kennett*.

Gift to
the Society
of Watson's
Illustrated
Copy of
his *Annals*

Watson's *Annals*, published in one volume in 1830 and in two volumes in 1842, and enlarged with many revisions and additions by Willis P. Hazard, in 1887, into three volumes, needs no encomium, but it is of interest to members to know that Mr. Watson by gift to the Council on June 30, 1830, placed among the archives, three folio volumes of his original manuscripts, profusely illustrated by original drawings, pictures, documents, autograph letters, specimens of colonial and continental money, of early silks of domestic manufacture, portions of dresses worn at colonial weddings and balls, satins worn at the Meschianza, and even a portion of black silk velvet worn as a coat by Dr. Franklin. In turning over these scrap books and viewing their varied contents and rich illustrative material, we find ourselves, so to speak, among the blocks, the chips and the shavings of Mr. Watson's intellectual workshop, and see above his mantel shelf a rare bit or two, a drawing by Kosciuszko of a reigning Philadelphia belle, a letter from George Whitefield, a writ addressed by Penn himself to summon the first Provincial Council, material to stimu-

Watson's
Scrap
Books

late the imagination and awaken enthusiasm in an ardent mind.

Mr. Rawle was now well beyond the "three score years and ten" of the psalmist. Shortly after he became president, his health, theretofore good, began to fail, and it is surprising what he accomplished with flagging strength. He had borne with Christian fortitude and resignation the loss of two daughters, two sons and his wife out of a family of eleven, but the final stroke of a loss of fortune through the business misadventures of a son, to the payment of whose debts he devoted his entire estate, said to have been \$300,000, proved to be too heavy a blow for a fast aging man. The minutes from 1830 to 1835 disclose the gradual slackening of his energies and the growing irregularity of his attendance at the meetings of the Council and of the Society.

*Ill Health
of President
Rawle*

As his nephew, Thomas I. Wharton, tells us: "In the latest years of his life, religion occupied a large portion of his thoughts. As the shadows of evening gathered round him, he seemed desirous to close the shutters upon all mere human speculation, and enlightened and warmed by the faith of the Gospel, to commune with his own heart, and prepare himself for the great event that was drawing nigh." David Paul Brown is more specific, and tells us how he sought solace in the composition of works still in manuscript, a translation from the Greek of the *Phaedo* of Plato, and "Essays upon Angelic Influences," "Original Sin," and the "Virtue of Baptism." Mr. Wharton assures us that "Mr. Rawle's religion was not an abstract or inanimate speculation. It governed and influenced his whole life. It controlled and tempered him during many years of prosperity, and sustained and comforted him in later days of distress and misfortune."

*His Closing
Years*

Fortunate, indeed, was it for the Society to have had for more than eleven years the countenance and support of so excellent a man, of pure heart and unstained hands, a wise counsellor, an enlightened citizen, an ardent patriot, a sagacious leader, an influential friend, a venerated officer, whose character was the strongest asset in establishing the credit of this institution, and in winning public confidence both at home and abroad. He died on April 12, 1836, but a fortnight before the completion of his seventy-seventh year.

His Death

CHAPTER X

The Administration of Peter S. Du Ponceau 1837 - 1844

*Biographical Sketch of Mr. Du Ponceau — His Eminence, Ability
and Versatility — His Value to the Society*

*Delays in
Choosing
Mr. Rawle's
Successor
as President*

FOLLOWING the death of Mr. Rawle the affairs of the Society were embarrassed for nearly a year by delays in the choice of a successor. Roberts Vaux, the first vice-president, had died of a virulent fever three months before the passing of Mr. Rawle. Of the founders, Wharton, Smith, Rawle, Jr., and Coates alone remained, but all were still young, and comparatively unimportant. Their active associates, J. Francis Fisher and Job R. Tyson, were still younger, and their seniors, Peter S. Du Ponceau and John Vaughan, were chiefly absorbed in matters of the American Philosophical Society, and both were almost octogenarians. Thomas M. Pettit, who had proved but an indifferent secretary, had, the year before, become the president judge of the district court, with Joel Jones and George M. Stroud as associates, and his time was fully occupied. Samuel Breck, James J. Barclay, and Samuel Hazard were of recent membership. During the year 1836, but one stated meeting of the Society could command a quorum, and though the Council met regularly each month, the business was unimportant, save in the selection of Mr. Wharton to prepare a memoir of President Rawle,* and of Judge Pettit to prepare a memoir of Mr. Vaux.† The first named mortuary orator complied within eight months, the second not until four years had elapsed.

At the stated meeting of the Society, held in February 1837, the annual election of officers resulted as follows:

* *Memoirs of the Hist. Soc. of Pa.*, IV.

† *Ibid.*, IV.

President—Peter S. Du Ponceau, LL.D.

Vice-Presidents—Joseph Hopkinson, LL.D., Benjamin R. Morgan, Hon. Thomas M. Pettit, and Thomas I. Wharton.

Corresponding Secretary—Joshua Francis Fisher.

Recording Secretary—Job R. Tyson.

Treasurer—William Mason Walmsley.

Curator—Samuel Hazard.

*Peter S.
Du Ponceau
Chosen*

Council

John Vaughan,	J. Fisher Leaming,
Samuel Breck,	Thomas D. Mutter, M.D.,
George B. Wood, M.D.,	A. Langdon Elwyn, M.D.,
B. H. Coates, M.D.,	John Jay Smith,
J. J. Barclay,	John C. Montgomery,
Peter McCall,	John G. Watmough,
Walter R. Johnson.*	

No wiser choice for president, at that particular crisis in our affairs, could have been made. What the Society then needed was not so much youthful energy and vigorous action as the exalted influence of a widely known scholar and an introduction by him to the learned world. In the ability to furnish both Mr. Du Ponceau stood far above his contemporaries. For ten years he had been and still was the president of the American Philosophical Society, whose presidents had been successively Franklin, Rittenhouse, Jefferson, Wistar, Patterson and Tilghman. As a philologist he was one of the foremost of his age. He had written on the component sounds of the English language; he had investigated the general character and grammatical forms of the Indian languages; he had corresponded with Heckewelder; he had contributed notes on Eliot's grammar of the Massachusetts Indians; he had studied in a series of letters the language, manners and customs of the Berbers of Africa; he had attempted a solution of the philological problems proposed by L'Institut Royal de France; he had translated Vater on the origin of the American population; he had translated also a grammar of the language of the Lenni Lenape or Delaware Indians; he had translated

*Ability and
Versatility
of Du
Ponceau*

* Minutes of the Society.

from the Swedish *A Short Description of the Province of New Sweden* by Thomas Campanius Holm; he had prepared an elaborate volume on the nature and character of the Chinese system of writing, and demonstrated the affinity between the Chinese and Cochinchinese languages; he had written for the *Edinburgh Encyclopaedia* articles on the Chinese language, and Chinese literature, and on languages and philology in the *Encyclopaedia Americana*. He had discussed in several papers the American silk industry. He had translated, from the Latin, Bynkershoek's treatise on the law of war, and, from the French, both the penal code and the commercial code of the French Empire, and, from the German translation by Professor Caesar, the Italian work of Ferdinando Galiani on the reciprocal rights of belligerents and neutrals.

His Memberships in Foreign Societies

These labors had brought him membership in the American Antiquarian Society, the Imperial Society of Beneficence of St. Petersburg, the Royal Academy of Sciences of Lisbon, the Royal Institute of France, the Royal Academy of History of Spain, the French Society of Universal Statistics of Paris, the Royal Academy of Turin, the Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries at Copenhagen, the Academy of History and Antiquities of Sweden at Stockholm, the Royal Geographical Society of London, the Historical and Geographical Institute of Brazil, the Royal Herculaneum Academy of Naples, the Ethnological Society of Paris and thirty American literary and scientific societies.

His Legal Authorships

As founder of the Law Academy of Philadelphia, he discoursed on legal education, and published the first *Dissertation on the Nature and Extent of the Jurisdiction of the Courts of the United States* and a *Brief View of the Constitution of the United States*—works which even at this late day may be read with instruction and profit. He had reviewed in 1827 the *Commentaries* of Chancellor Kent on American law. He had for years sustained the burden of the Committee of Literature and History in the American Philosophical Society; had saturated himself with studies in the history of Pennsylvania, had contributed freely to the *Memoirs* of this Society, had addressed the William Penn Society, and, for the Foreign Literary Society, had written *A Discourse on the Necessity and the Means*

of Making Our National Literature Independent of that of Great Britain. These works, numerous, brilliant and varied, brought him world wide fame for thoroughness of research, as well as clearness of statement and soundness of judgment. He had expended upon them fifty years of indefatigable toil, and had found, with Lavater, that "the tide and ebb of giving and receiving is the sum of human happiness, which he alone enjoys who always wishes to acquire new knowledge, and always finds it."

The bent of his genius was scientific, his methods were analytical, his form of expression exact, and his style, at times warmly colored, was free from foreign idioms, despite his French birth and familiarity with many tongues. His renown was secure, and his life work was practically over as he assumed our president's chair. It was of the utmost advantage to the prestige of this Society that so distinguished a scholar should consent to act as leader, and thus bestow upon an adolescent institution the riches of his reputation. He made the Society the partner in his fame by a happy stroke of publicity in having bound the three volumes of its *Memoirs*, and in sending them, not only to the learned societies of which he was himself a member, but to the libraries of public institutions—some seventy-two in number—both at home and abroad. Thus did he, by a personal act, enroll us in the ranks of the learned and secure for us a recognition which, under less favorable auspices would have taken fifty years to obtain. The status of The Historical Society of Pennsylvania as an institution of learning was established by Mr. Du Ponceau's introduction of its publication as one worthy of recognition in the sphere of letters.

To eminent intellectual distinction, Mr. Du Ponceau added the highest moral qualities and professional leadership. A few biographical details may be given which will reveal the sources of his varied knowledge. In supplying these we draw upon Dr. Duglison's commemorative discourse before the American Philosophical Society in 1844, who in turn relied upon autobiographical data furnished by Du Ponceau in his life time to his friend, Robert Walsh, an eminent journalist, editor and author, and to his grand-daughter, Miss Garesche.*

* Duglison's Discourse, Library of The American Philosophical Society.

*His Fame
at Home
and Abroad*

*Value to
the Society
of Du
Ponceau's
Reputation*

*Sketch of
Peter S.
Du Ponceau*

He was born, June 3, 1760, at St. Martins, in the Isle de Ré, on the western coast of France, where his father held a military command. Before he was six years of age, he had learned by heart a Latin and French vocabulary, and attracted by the strange sight of the letters K and W in an English grammar, which fell in his way, began his study of English. He was aided by the presence in the town of English and Irish families attached to regiments, and having a good ear and flexible organs soon spoke good English. As the years ran on he became, in his own words, "a perfect *Anglomane*. I devoured Milton, Thomson, Young, Pope, Shakspeare, and so neglected the French poets, that I must acknowledge, to this day (1837), I have read but few of the tragedies of Corneille, Racine, and Voltaire. The English *haut goût* had spoiled me from them. I also wrote English correctly." About the same time, he acquired Italian, in the same manner, from the officers of an Italian regiment quartered in the town.

*His
Military
Experience*

His father intended him for the military profession, his mother preferred the priesthood. For a time, he studied military engineering, mathematics, geography and history, and was educated with the recruits for French regiments destined to the colonies. His natural shortness of sight disqualified him for a military life, and in 1773 he was sent to a college of Benedictine monks at St. Jean Angely. There he became so proficient, particularly in philosophy, as to defend publicly, after the fashion of those days, the theses propounded at the end of scholastic years, winning all the premiums. His successes remind us of "the Admirable Crichton."

*His
Monkish
Experience*

In his sixteenth year he lost his father, and, yielding to his mother's wishes, "took the tonsure"—to use his own words—and became Monsieur l'Abbé. Befriended by the Bishop of Rochelle, he was sent as a *Régent* to the episcopal college at Bressiure in Poitou, but jealousy and ill will on the part of his seniors, which subjected him to intolerable annoyances, led to his withdrawal. "For the sake of truth," he wrote, "I must add, that I was also induced to this step by my religious scruples; and, to be perfectly candid, by a restless disposition, and a spirit of adventure, which made me see every thing in bright colours before me."

He left the college at day-break on Christmas morning, 1775, with a copy of *Paradise Lost* in one pocket and a clean shirt in the other, and entered Paris—to be well received by his father's friends. There he earned a living by translating English works, and commercial letters for business men, at the same time giving English lessons to French pupils. He became intimate with the Count de Genlis, and the Duke of Orleans. The latter wished to have an English and French vocabulary of words and phrases relating to the chase with dialogues, and the young Du Ponceau, with much labor, produced a manuscript which he subsequently saw in the prince's hands bound in red morocco with gilt edges. He tells us: "I had been promised a handsome reward; but when, afterwards, I modestly hinted to M. de Genlis something about a compensation, his answer was, '*Les princes ne donnent rien.*'"

*His Life
in Paris*

A second turning point in his career occurred when he met M. G  belin, the celebrated philologist, then in the zenith of his fame, and became his secretary. Through him he met the renowned M. Beaumarchais, and through him Baron Steuben, then preparing to set out for America. The Baron spoke not a word of English, and needing a secretary who could both speak and write English found it easy to persuade the young scholar to accompany him. Sailing together from Marseilles, they landed at Portsmouth in December, 1777. The Baron's letters of introduction were of the highest order, but the presence of his secretary as interpreter was indispensable: "I accompanied him everywhere, and thus I was thrown at once into the first company of the land. . . . We ate our first dinner at Governor Langdon's, and there we heard, for the first time, of the capture of General Burgoyne and his whole army. We hailed it as an omen of future success."

*Becomes
Secretary
to Baron
Steuben*

From Portsmouth, the Baron and his interpreter went to Boston, meeting John Hancock and Samuel Adams. The latter, a stern republican but an unpolished man, discovering Du Ponceau's republican principles, asked him: "Where did you learn all that?" When Du Ponceau replied, "In France," Adams exclaimed: "In France; that is impossible," and then, recovering himself, he added, "Well, because a man was born in a stable, it is no reason why he should be a horse." "I

*His Arrival
in America*

thought to myself," adds Mr. Du Ponceau, "that in matters of compliment they ordered these things better in France!"

*Meets
Washington
at Valley
Forge*

A third turning point now occurred. Crossing Massachusetts, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania, they reached York, Pennsylvania where the Continental Congress was then sitting. The Baron, introduced by General Gates, presented his credentials to Congress, and requested that his secretary, Du Ponceau should be given the rank of captain in the Continental army. Thus as an officer of the staff of Steuben, the youthful but fast rising Du Ponceau found himself on February 23 in the presence of Washington at Valley Forge.

*Du
Ponceau's
Sketch of
Washington*

The next day, and the day following the Baron and his secretary dined with Washington. This was repeated twice or thrice a week, as the matters of conference were of the utmost importance, affecting the discipline and training of the American army in the manual of arms. Consequently, numerous opportunities were furnished to the accomplished interpreter to study Washington. "We visited him," he wrote, "also in the evening, when Mrs. Washington was at headquarters. We were in a manner domesticated in the family." No better pen sketch of the American commander has ever been given by any of his officers than by this Frenchman: "I cannot describe the impression that the first sight of that great man made upon me. I could not keep my eyes from that imposing countenance—grave, yet not severe; affable, without familiarity. Its predominant expression was calm dignity, through which you could trace the strong feelings of the patriot, and discern the father as well as the commander of his soldiers. I have never seen a picture that represents him to me as I saw him at Valley Forge, and during the campaigns in which I had the honour to follow him. Perhaps that expression was beyond the skill of the painter; but while I live it will remain impressed on my memory."

*The Winter
at Valley
Forge*

The horrors of the long winter at Valley Forge were two-thirds over when Steuben arrived. "We," wrote Du Ponceau, "who lived in good quarters, did not feel the misery of the times so much as the common soldiers and the subaltern officers; yet we had more than once to share our rations with the

sentry at the door." Some amusing incidents are described in the autobiographical notes. A dinner was given by the Baron to young officers, and to avoid mortification to those poorly clad, none were to be admitted in a whole pair of breeches or an untorn coat. "Such a set of ragged, and at the same time merry fellows, were never before brought together. The Baron loved to speak of that dinner, and of his *Sans-Culottes*, as he called us. Thus, this denomination was first invented in America, and applied to the brave officers, and soldiers of our revolutionary army; at a time when it could not be foreseen; that the name which honored the followers of Washington, would afterwards be assumed by the satellites of a Marat, and a Robespierre." * On one occasion, Du Ponceau, who had become an aid-de-camp with the rank by courtesy of major—his chief having been appointed a major-general and inspector general of the American army—was sent out to reconnoitre, and mistaking, through his shortsightedness, some red petticoats hanging on a fence to dry for a body of British soldiers, returned to camp at a gallop with the news that the enemy were marching upon us. The mistake, which was soon discovered, caused much merriment to the confusion and dismay of the Major, who records that "the adventure was related the same day at headquarters to General Washington, in my presence; but such was the conduct of that excellent man, that I retired comforted, and my mind relieved from the heavy weight that pressed upon it." This true incident gave rise to other tales. "It was said, for instance, that I had once rode out to the adjutant-general's office on a black horse, and returned on a white one, without perceiving the difference. If you should ever hear any of these stories," he wrote to his grand-daughter, "you may safely place them among the apocrypha."

*Amusing
Mishaps*

During his stay at Valley Forge Major Du Ponceau, then but eighteen years old, became intimate with Lafayette, and lived to deliver in his seventy-fourth year a eulogy upon his friend whom he had known for fifty-six years. Du Ponceau served under Steuben, with interruptions due to ill health, un-

*Intimacy
with
Lafayette*

* Autobiographical letters of Du Ponceau, *Penna. Mag. of Hist. & Biog.*, XL, 172.

*Retires to
Civil Life
in Phila-
delphia*

til 1781.* Retiring from the army with a strong letter of recommendation to Congress for employment in some civil capacity, on July 25, 1781, he took the requisite oaths, and, as he expressed it, "Became a citizen of the great Commonwealth of Pennsylvania. Behold me, then, a citizen of the United States, having entered with them into a solemn compact, to which I have faithfully adhered, and which I have never repented." In the following October, he became, on the recommendation of Thomas McKean and Richard Peters, secretary to Robert R. Livingston of New York, who had been appointed by the Continental Congress Secretary for Foreign Affairs. He lived in the same house with his chief, on Sixth Street near Walnut, and on Mr. Livingston's retirement from office on June 4, 1783, became the owner of the dwelling and there spent the remainder of his days.

*Admission
to the
Philadel-
phia Bar*

At the close of the war, he resolved to enter the legal profession, studying under William Lewis whom he regarded as, at the time, "the most celebrated lawyer in Philadelphia, and perhaps in the United States." He was admitted to the bar, June 24, 1785, in the court of common pleas, and in 1786, in the supreme court.† His docket shows that he had twenty-one cases in his first year. To his practice he added the office of notary public under appointment of the Executive Council, in those days an office of great dignity and importance, and

* At the annual meeting of the American Philosophical Society—April 25, 1925, there was presented, through Dr. Geo. W. Norris, to the Society the original of the following interesting certificate:

Mr. Peter S. DuPonceaux was in the Year 1777 appointed a Captain by Brevet in the Army of the United States and served as aid de camp and Secretary to Major General Baron Steuben during the Campaign of 1778 to 1780 inclusive.

From the Testimony of the General whom he served it appears that Capt. DuPonceau performed the duties of his Station with propriety as a brave and good Officer.

Given under my Hand and Seal
at Head Quarters in Newbury
the 2nd day of April 1782

G. Washington.

It was found among the papers of Miss Aline Garesche, the granddaughter of Mr. Du Ponceau, who died in Paris, France, in February, 1925, at the age of ninety-four years.

† Martin's *Bench and Bar of Philadelphia*.

became sworn interpreter of foreign languages, in which business he had no rival. In 1788, he married, and leading a retired life closely devoted to the duties of his profession, rose gradually but steadily into that leadership, shared with Rawle and Dallas, which brought him into the argument of those cases before the Supreme Court of the United States which we have sufficiently reviewed in our sketch of Mr. Rawle, by quoting Mr. Du Ponceau's spirited accounts of the winter trips to Washington.

Such was the second president of this Society, a military student, a priest, a teacher of languages, a philologist, again a soldier, a private secretary, a lawyer of eminence, a scholar and author of surpassing accomplishments, a philosopher of rank, a citizen of influence respected for his virtue and revered for his intellectual power. His portrait, as painted by Sully, gives no suggestion that at one time he had been Monsieur l'Abbé, nor even that he had been a major in Continental blue and buff. The heavy masses of tangled hair, the silver rimmed spectacles of huge size, the contemplative eyes and large mouth might have belonged either to a professor, a musician, an artist, or to a poet, but the stooping shoulders and careless dress could only have belonged to a somewhat absent-minded bibliophile.*

*Sully's
Portrait of
Du Ponceau*

* The oil portrait of Mr. Du Ponceau in our possession is a copy made from the original by Sully, in the possession of the American Philosophical Society, by W. Sanford Mason, and presented by him to us November 17, 1852. Accession Book—Vol. I, p. 70.

CHAPTER XI

Du Ponceau Administration Activities of the Society

Inaugural Address of Mr. Du Ponceau—Efforts to Secure the Printing by the State of Early Records—Memorial to the Legislature—The Bill of 1837—Printing of the Colonial Records—Efforts to Secure Papers from Families—The Burd Papers—Penn and Logan Papers—The Diary of Christopher Marshall—A McKean Letter as to the Declaration of Independence

THE inaugural discourse of President Du Ponceau was delivered on June 3, 1837.* He reviewed what had been accomplished by the Rawle administration in appreciative terms, and acknowledged the use that had been made of the materials collected by Thomas Gordon in his *History of Pennsylvania*, published in 1828, and by Samuel Hazard in his *Register of Pennsylvania*, continued until 1835. He stated the results of the labors of the young society as follows:

1. We have brought to light valuable documents, illustrating the early history of our Commonwealth; amongst which, are several of great importance, which had escaped the researches of our historians, and which were in danger of being lost to posterity.
2. We have collected a great quantity of other interesting papers, which we expect to publish in due succession.
3. Our members by their memoirs, published in our volumes, have elucidated various points of our history, and thus facilitated the labours of future historians.
4. In consequence of the impulse given by the institution of this society, historical works and collections, composed or compiled by our members, have issued from the press; Colonial Pennsylvania, at least, no longer wants an historian.

* *Memoirs of the Hist. Soc. of Pa.*, IV, pt. 1.

5. In conjunction with the American Philosophical Society, we have prevailed on the Legislature of Pennsylvania, to publish at their expense, the Provincial Records deposited at Harrisburg, and thus made the State an associate in our labours.

He then dwelt upon the functions of the Society, and used the words already quoted in the Introductory View.* Undismayed by the lack of success of the circular letter of 1825,† he proposed that a circular letter be written and sent to the most enlightened and influential men in every county in this state, to “request of them the information we stand in need of.” He did not expect them to make the necessary inquiries themselves, and send written communications, but the task could be assigned to “intelligent and aspiring young men, who, while they instructed themselves, would find pleasure in collecting facts for us, and transmitting them to our society; of which they would of course become the correspondents, and so make their first appearance in the literary world.” He also suggested a bulletin of the proceedings of the Society at their quarterly meetings, and of the Council during the recess, in which, amongst other things, mention should be made of all the donations and communications received with the names of the donors and correspondents.†† He urged that the *Memoirs* should be made as interesting as possible to the general reader, and “for that purpose they should have a literary, and if I may so speak a *popular* character, by which means they will be more generally read, and more extensively diffused.”

He urged particular attention to a history of the establishment of the existing school system, having in his eye certain members of the Society who could furnish interesting papers “showing the first rise of the system, its slow but certain progress, the obstacles it met with, the success with which the efforts of its friends were crowned, the defects which still remain to be corrected and the probable effects of this great experiment.” He advocated further attention to the history of the Indians

* *Ante*, p. 5.

† *Ante*, Chapter VII.

†† The suggestion was not acted on until 1845, and met with success. *Post*, Chapter XVI.

who inhabited this state, only partially given by Heckewelder, and suggested that, as Pennsylvania was the first state to abolish slavery, the history of the African race within its borders and the facts connected with its emancipation, and the efforts of Lay, Benezet and others, the formation of societies and schools for the education of colored children, the introduction of the colonization system, would form fruitful subjects for study.

He glanced boldly at the future, and with the precision of an aged statesman declared: "Pennsylvania has done her duty to herself, she will abstain from meddling with the policy of her sister states. If left to themselves, they will pursue the most proper course, and, I venture to predict, from causes which I see silently operating, that in process of time, slavery will ultimately disappear from every part of our country. But if interfered with, I see storms and tempests on the horizon that will shake our union to its centre."

He also turned to other "fit subjects for the exercise of the talents of our members and correspondents. The credit and the bullion systems opposed to each other now agitate the whole of the civilized world. . . . This is a proper time, therefore, for studying the history of paper credit in Pennsylvania and our sister States, before and during the Revolution. . . . But in investigations like these, let us beware of party spirit. Let not the monster be permitted to enter our halls. . . . As philosophers and investigators of historical truth, we ought to rise above those noxious vapours, and breathe a purer atmosphere. . . . Facts, and not party opinions are what history demands of us." He added, with admirable optimism:

While on this subject, I cannot avoid stating a fact which is the result of near sixty years experience in this great city. During all that time, I have not yet seen a contested election that was not said to be the most important that had ever taken place. Men of all parties affirmed that, if they succeeded, the country was saved—if they failed, it was lost and ruined for ever. Success

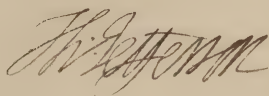
Sir

Philadelphia Feb. 18. 1791.

I return you the two volumes of records, with thanks for the opportunity of looking into them. they are curious monuments of the infancy of our country. I learn with great satisfaction that you are about committing to the press the valuable historical and state-papers you have been so long collecting. ~~accidents of~~ time & accident are committing daily havoc on the originals deposited in our public offices. the late war has done the work of centuries in this business. the lost cannot be recovered; but let us save what remains: not by vaults and locks which force them from the public eye and use in consigning them to the waste of time, but by such a multiplication of copies as shall place them beyond the reach of accident. this being the tendency of your undertaking be assured there is no one who wishes it a more complete success than Sir

Your most Obedient

& most humble serv^t.



Mr. Hazard.

Thomas Jefferson on the Importance of
Historical Documents
Reproduced through the courtesy of Mr. Spencer Hazard

has been various. One party has risen and then fallen to make room for another. And now, gentlemen, look at your country! your glorious, flourishing, and happy country! the envy and admiration of the civilized world! Storms have been succeeded by fair weather, and fair weather again by storms; but still the country remains, rising and advancing with giant steps. . . .

He declared:

Discoveries may be made in history as in other sciences. Important documents, buried in the closets, or perhaps thrown among rubbish in the garrets or cellars of private families, and sometimes in the shops of grocers or confectioners, are the treasures which historical societies are intended to look after and preserve. In Europe, this task is committed to antiquarian societies, but in this country our antiquities are modern, and we dare hardly assume the name, except as relates to the Indian tribes who preceded us in this land, and the field of discoveries with respect to them, is not exhausted. . . .

We have not neglected the yet doubtful question of the origin of the American Indians. We have published an interesting memoir of one of our members upon that subject,* in which he reviews the different opinions that have prevailed, but comes to no definite conclusion, and leaves the question still undecided. It must not, however, be abandoned, light may yet come from a quarter whence it is least expected; our vast continent has not yet been sufficiently explored. Philology and Geology are rising sciences; who can tell to what discoveries they yet may lead? . . .

* *Ante*, Chapter VIII.

He closed, with simplicity:

Thus, Gentlemen, I have endeavoured to lay before you a brief sketch of what we have done, and what remains for us to do. Our late venerated President, in his inaugural discourse expressed his ardent wish, 'that our Society should not be like many others, marked only by vivacity of inception, apathy of progress, and prematurity of decay.' He has lived to see his wish accomplished. Warmed by his spirit, our Society still lives; apathy has not yet touched our members with her torpid wand, and we show no symptoms of premature decay; may the same spirit continue to animate us, which led us on at the first, and I hope will guide us successfully in our progress to the end.*

*Du Ponceau
Drafts
Memorial
to the Leg-
islature to
Preserve the
Public Rec-
ords of
Provincial
Days*

Following the bruiting abroad of our existence as an institution of serious purposes and creditable achievements, Mr. Du Ponceau, president of both the American Philosophical Society and The Historical Society of Pennsylvania, brought his influence to bear upon the legislature. The early records or minutes of the provincial council, kept on loose sheets or in neglected books, some in the almost undecipherable handwriting of Patrick Robinson or in that of James Logan and others, were scattered among the archives of the State Department, none of them as yet in print, but forming a rich and irreplaceable mass of historic matter, indispensable to our history, but unassorted, confused and irregular. They were the only records in existence, and liable at any moment to be destroyed by fire, vermin, dirt and neglect. To rescue them while yet there was time, was a duty which appealed to zealous patriots inspired by a love of history. A joint memorial "recommending the publication of certain ancient records" was presented by both societies, on December 8, 1836, to "The Honorable the Senate and House of Representatives of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania." The memorial was signed for the American Philosophical Society by Peter S. Du Pon-

* *Memoirs of The Hist. Soc. of Pa.*, IV, Part I.

ceau and J. Francis Fisher as a committee, and for the Historical Society, by Peter S. Du Ponceau and Job R. Tyson, as a committee.*

The double appearance of the name of the venerable scholar attracts the attention even of the present day reader of the memorial, and must have had an extraordinary influence at the time. The paper is evidently the composition of a single pen, and, from some familiarity with the style of Mr. Fisher, the present writer believes that the authorship should be credited to him, although it is probable, owing to the special interest of Mr. Du Ponceau in the Indians, that the passage relating to the Indian treaties with the colonial governments was suggested by him. The conjecture as to authorship is sustained by the circumstance that Mr. Fisher was more closely in touch, through his family history and connections, with the provincial council than either of his colleagues. From boyhood he had been brought up on papers which were of the flesh of Pennsylvania colonial history.

The memorial was arranged and stated with skill. After pointing out that it was the misfortune of many nations that their early history was lost in the night of time and that recourse had been had to fabulous traditions abounding in mythical heroes and demi-gods, attention was called to efforts then making in England and France under royal patronage to explore the dark recesses of the past. The study of Egyptian antiquities was everywhere patronized, encouraged and promoted. Obelisks and other monuments were imported to grace the public squares and enrich the museums. London had the Rosetta stone, and Paris the Theban obelisk. It was the good fortune of the United States, and of Pennsylvania in particular, that their early history was not involved in obscurity and doubt. The name of our founder would go down to posterity with those of the most celebrated legislators. Pennsylvanians were descended in the main from two illustrious nations, alike renowned for science and for the glory acquired by arms. "The mixture of German and of British blood has implanted in our commonwealth those solid virtues which lead nations to prosperity; and the warmth of the Irish heart has contrib-

*Analysis
of the
Memorial*

* Minutes of the Society, 1836; *Legislative Journals*, 1837.

Importance of the Minutes of the Provincial Council uted not a little to the character she has acquired for generous hospitality. In every respect, her history is full of interest and will become so more and more. It is therefore of the highest importance, that the authentic records from which that history is to be deduced should not be lost to posterity."

After dwelling on the risks of fire and other accidents, specific attention was called to the minutes of the provincial council from the organization of the colonial government under William Penn down to the Revolution, as the most important of documents. "This invaluable record was fortunately preserved amidst the horrors of war and the troubles attending our revolution. If it should be lost, a link will be wanting in the chain of events which constitute the history of the State." The legislature was reminded that the provincial council had possessed not only executive but also legislative and judicial power. "If the records of their proceedings," it was argued, "should by some accident be lost, many important parts of our colonial history will be left in obscurity, and false notions will at length be established in their stead by the ingenuity or perhaps design of future chroniclers." As a stimulant to present action, it was recalled that as far back as 1752, Pennsylvania, then young and poor, had, through a patriotic legislature, caused to be printed at public expense the *Votes and Proceedings* from the first assembly at Chester in 1682 down to the Revolution, in six large folio volumes, an example worthy of emulation.

The Treaties with the Indians Next to the minutes of the provincial council, the memorialists considered "the treaties made with the Indians under the colonial government, to be the most important. They would be of the utmost interest to posterity, and it would be highly honorable to the State, to show to the world that in all the relations of Pennsylvania with the Indian tribes no recourse has been had to war or to the shedding of human blood, except when we were obliged to combat them as the allies of another nation, who employed them for the purpose of subduing our country." Finally, it was suggested that a correct list should be made of whatever other ante-Revolutionary documents worthy of publication might be in the secretary's office, so that students of history might know what materials existed in the

possession of the government, which might be consulted by them in the prosecution of their labors.

Their Honors were entreated to take the above suggestions into serious consideration, and adopt such measures as their wisdom should dictate in favor of the objects of the memorial. A committee of the House was appointed, with J. Washington Tyson as chairman, whose report indicated not only complete sympathy with the spirit of the address, but a very thorough knowledge of what had been accomplished both here and elsewhere in the preservation and publication of historic papers. The merits of the report justify a summary of its contents. It constitutes an appreciative acknowledgment of what had been attempted, and, what is still better, persuasive, contemporaneous evidence of the public esteem of our officers and their labors.

*Mr. Tyson's
Report in
Behalf of
Legislative
Action*

"The two Societies" whose memorial was under consideration "include a large portion of the intellect, literature and science of Philadelphia. The Historical Society had for its objects, the collection and preservation of the materials of our domestic history. All knew how much it had already contributed to these purposes and to the correction of historical errors. Its published memoirs attest the intelligence, industry, and public spirit of its members." The Philosophical Society, through its committee of history, had published a learned correspondence between Du Ponceau and Heckewelder, and an excellent account of the Moravian Indians by the latter. Then was paid a fine tribute to the President of this Society: "As chairman of each of the two committees who drafted the memorial before us, it is gratifying to find the name of the distinguished and venerable Du Ponceau, himself—a name of which the State, nay, the whole country, has so much reason to be proud for his great talents, deep erudition and fervent patriotism."

The committee concurred in the opinion that the colonial records of the commonwealth should be published and widely distributed as the safest means of effecting their preservation. The report of the committee described the old governmental attitude, then justified a departure from the former illiberal policy:

*Extracts
from
Tyson's
Report*

The history of a country is all in the acts of its government. The public records are the only safe materials on which the historian can rely. Before the invention of printing, those documents could with difficulty be preserved; they were liable to be, and immense numbers of them were in fact destroyed by fire, by foreign and civil wars, by the perishable quality of their materials, and by the carelessness of those in whose custody they were placed. After the art of printing became known, the jealousy of government prevented for a long period the publication of most important records, and the proprietary government of Pennsylvania participated in that feeling, so that the proceedings of the colonial councils were in a great measure considered as state secrets, and accessible but to few. Before the Revolution, their publication could not have been permitted. . . .

In the infancy of the colony, when printing presses were few, and the expense of printing too great to be borne by our small and dispersed population, even the daily proceedings of the legislative body remained in manuscript for the space of seventy years. It was not until 1752 that the legislature determined on publishing their journals, beginning with those of the first assembly which met at Upland, now Chester, Delaware county, in the year 1682. It was a bold and expensive project for that time; it was nevertheless undertaken; the old journals were printed, and the publication continued until the period of the Revolution.*

Since the Revolution all important public documents were published under legislative authority, and copies had been multiplied through a great number of newspapers, so that the facts which were to be the materials of future history were beyond the reach of accident or contingency, and hence secure

* *House Journal*, 1837.

from the danger of loss to posterity. But the records in question—those referred to in the memorial—were still exposed to the dangers of decay, removal, mutilation and destruction. “If they should happen to be lost, through the neglect of the present generation, a stigma will rest upon us, which no lapse of time can efface.”

The point was enforced by a special reference to what was then being done in Great Britain. The government, at an immense expense, had begun the publication of their records beginning with Domesday Book. Thirty-two volumes had already been published, sixteen of which were large folios; and, with commendable liberality, numerous sets had been distributed in America to public libraries, the Philosophical Society and the Library Company being among the recipients. The action of Congress, and that of several states proceeded upon the same lines. Urged by a sense of duty, the committee recommended the publication of such colonial records as were in the custody of the secretary of the commonwealth, a start to be made with the minutes of the provincial council. As to the Indian treaties, those already contained in the minutes of the council need not be twice printed, and as to deeds and Indian conveyances, as Judge Smith had, in the second volume of his edition of the laws of Pennsylvania, given full abstracts, only such should be published at large as were the sources of title to large tracts of land, or contained historical matter.

*Examples
of English
Action*

A bill embodying these views was reported, and became a part of the Act of April 4, 1837,* providing for the printing of the minutes from 1681 to 1717, inclusive, with a suitable index, in octavo form to the number of 1,000 copies, at a cost not exceeding \$3,000, of which 20 copies were assigned to the Historical Society. At the same time it was directed that the secretary of the commonwealth should cause the original charter of Pennsylvania—that of Charles II to William Penn—to be framed, covered with glass, and placed in his office for the inspection of visitors. It is a startling fact that the precious document has disappeared.†

*The Bill
as Reported*

* P. L. 1837.

† The interesting fact is stated in a note to Vol. I of the *Colonial Records* that the *originals* of none of the following named documents were in the

The Printing of the Colonial Records, 1837-38

The printing was begun in 1837, carried on in 1838 under the supplemental Act of April 14, 1838 and 1840. The resulting three volumes, covered matter from the 10th 1st month (March) 1682/3, when William Penn presided in person, until January 23, 1735/6, when Patrick Gordon was lieutenant governor. Here the matter rested for a decade, owing, it is understood, to financial difficulties. It was not until 1851, that the subject was revived, a matter to be noticed in a later chapter.* However, let it not be forgotten that the credit for having inaugurated so great and important an undertaking is due to the Du Ponceau administration.

Useful Results

The work ran finally into sixteen printed volumes, known as the *Colonial Records*, and twelve volumes known as the *Pennsylvania Archives* (first series). Without them it would have been impossible to have produced, except in stunted and imperfectly developed form, such works as Keith's *Provincial Councillors of Pennsylvania*; Keith's *Chronicles of Pennsylvania*; Shepherd's *History of Proprietary Government in Pennsylvania*; Pennypacker's *Pennsylvania Colonial Cases*; Lloyd's *The Early Courts of Pennsylvania*; Cooper's *Life and Public Services of James Logan*; Root's *The Relations of Pennsylvania with the British Government*; Fisher's *Pennsylvania: Colony and Commonwealth*; or Jenkins' *Pennsylvania: Colonial and Federal*. Without the *Colonial Records* and *Pennsylvania Archives* it would have been impossible for lawyers and judges to trace to their origin certain customs and regulations, or to demonstrate the evolution of the supreme

office of the Secretary of the Commonwealth: Certain Conditions and Concessions agreed upon by William Penn and the first adventurers and purchasers in Pennsylvania; The Frame of the Government of the Province of Pennsylvania, together with certain laws agreed upon in England; The Frame of Government granted in 1683; The Frame of Government passed by William Markham in 1696. The same note appears in the reprint of 1852. But the most grievous loss is that caused by the disappearance of the original Charter—the one *given under the Great Seal*. See an article by William Brooke Rawle, *Penna. Mag. of Hist. & Biog.*, Vol. XVI, p. 86. The Charter in Harrisburg is *under the Privy Seal*, and was used in illustrating the volume on the Charter and Laws of the Province generally known as *The Laws of the Duke of York*, published by the State in 1879.

* *Post*, Chapter XVI, 228-29.

court from the provincial council on its judicial side.* Without such an inexhaustible storehouse of facts and of illustrations to draw upon, as is contained in these records, many contributors to *The Pennsylvania Magazine* published by this Society would have been inadequately supplied with necessary material. The *Colonial Records* stands to the bulk and body of that period of our history as the *Year Books* from Edward I to Henry VIII stand to the common law of England.

Well, indeed, did Du Ponceau, Fisher and Tyson, although they may have never encountered it, act in the spirit of the remark of Nigel to King Henry II when urging the publication (which meant the making of manuscript copies) of the records of the Exchequer, "Know, Master, that buried learning is like buried treasure, it yieldeth no profit."

The discerning eyes of Mr. Du Ponceau, undimmed by age, led him to observe another gap in our annals. Leaving the chair on May 19, 1841, he took the floor and "made some observations relative to the chasm in the annals of Penn^a of some twenty years immediately preceding the arrival of Wm Penn," and pointing out some sources of information on the subject, he urged the members present to follow up the clues. He was strongly supported by Mr. Tyson, who added, as a subject worthy of investigation, the Indian mounds of the western country. In the following July (1841) the matter was again pressed, the president stating that he had addressed letters—fourteen in number—"to gentlemen who would probably have it in their power to indicate sources whence materials could be derived for filling up this *hiatus valde deflendus*." Eight replies had been received, but nothing definite thus far had been elicited.†

*Du Ponceau
Urges the
Filling in
of Gaps in
our History*

The most disappointing letter was that from Dr. Beck of Albany, who stated that he had examined the documents in the offices of the secretary of state of New York from 1664 to 1682, and ascertained that there were but few relating to the Delaware region in that collection. The most encouraging re-

* See Bicentennial of Supreme Court, May, 1922. 273 Pa. St. Reports.

† Minutes of the Council.

Corre-
spondence

ply was that from Benjamin Ferris of Wilmington, then engaged upon *A History of the Original Settlements on the Delaware* from its discovery by Hudson to the colonization under William Penn, which was published in 1846 and remains to this day one of the best books on the subject. Mr. Ferris suggested the probability that documents of value connected with the early history of Pennsylvania were in the possession of the Physick family. Job R. Tyson, J. Francis Fisher and John Penington were appointed a committee to pursue inquiries in the quarter indicated. With a generosity unusual in an author meditating publication of his own labors, Mr. Ferris pointed to the Dutch records at Albany, and with a knowledge of their bearing upon the Delaware which put Dr. Beck to shame, descanted on the richness of the material of this character in the publications of the New York Historical Society. Thus did he pave the way for the compilation of that meritorious work—a *vade mecum* to all students of today—*Annals of Pennsylvania, from the Discovery of the Delaware*, by the painstaking Samuel Hazard, a member of this Society.

The Burd
Papers

Somewhat earlier than this, a box containing historical manuscripts and papers of the Burd family was received from Mrs. Thompson of Thompsettown on the Juniata River, and found to include papers of a public nature from 1747 to 1780. This stimulated the Council in April, 1839 to renewed efforts to obtain the Logan papers, the delivery of which had been retarded by the death of Dr. Logan and the subsequent death of his widow, the now famous Deborah Logan. A committee, consisting of Du Ponceau, Vaughan and Tyson, was appointed to request Albanus C. Logan "to deposit in our archives . . . any MSS. of his late mother . . . relating to the history of the Province or State." The committee, proving sluggish, was admonished, a year later, "to visit Stenton to enforce the application at the earliest convenient time." This sharp cut of the lash produced results, but only partial ones. The Minutes of the Society show that in September of 1840, Mr. Logan deposited some "original and other papers," accompanied by the distressing announcement that some important papers or manuscripts relating to the colony had been given for safe keeping by a relative of James Logan to some one whose name was not

The Penn
and Logan
Papers

disclosed. Whereupon Vaughan and Tyson were deputed to ascertain the name of the person, with a view to the recovery of the papers if that were possible. Further light will be thrown upon this matter in our review of the contents of Part I of Volume IV of our *Memoirs*.*

In the meantime, J. Fisher Leaming enriched the library by a small but well chosen collection of books relating to the history of England during the times of the Tudors and the Stuarts. Dr. Edward F. Rivinus presented a copy of Pastorius' circumstantial description of the province of Pennsylvania, and the dull minutes of the Council give evidence of enthusiasm in recording that "Mr. DuPonceau much to the gratification of the members present expressed his intention of preparing a translation of this rare & curious old work for the next half vol. of the Society's transactions." Alas, death frustrated the execution of this purpose, but in January, 1844, the offer of the Reverend Mr. Van Ralle of Baltimore to perform the task was accepted. It was not performed, however, until 1850, and then by Lewis H. Weiss.†

*Gifts of
Books to
the Society*

A most important gift, particularly in its far later consequences, was that of William Duane, Jr., the son of the fretful editor of *The Aurora*, who, in December, 1841, presented to the Society a manuscript in five small books aggregating 786 pages, entitled "The Remembrancer of Christopher Marshall," being a diary kept in his own handwriting. All five books are closely written on both sides of each page. The first book runs from January 1, 1774, to August 22, 1775, the second from August 23, 1775, to June 30, 1776, the third, which is most important as being contemporaneous with the Declaration of Independence, runs from July 1, 1776, to January 6, 1778, the fourth from January 7, 1778, to December 31, 1779, and the fifth from January 1, 1780, to September 1781. A continuation of this remembrancer, also in Marshall's handwriting, and carrying it down to December, 1785, came into the possession of the Society April 12, 1901, as the gift of the

*Diary of
Christopher
Marshall*

* *Post*, 174.

† *Memoirs of Hist. Soc. of Pa.*, Vol. IV, Part 2. See also *post*, Chapter XVI.

Mr.
Duane's
Edition

Misses E. B. and M. B. Kirkbride.* The value of Mr. Duane's gift, except as a curio, was burdened by the condition "that no portion of it be copied or printed." As the donor had published extracts in 1839, and in 1849, it is evident that he intended to reserve to himself the right of full publication. This right he exercised many years later, by publishing at Albany, in 1877, a book entitled *Extracts from the Diary of Christopher Marshall, kept in Philadelphia and Lancaster, during the American Revolution—1774-1781*. The preface tells us that the only portions of the original diary omitted in the printing relate mainly to private matters and the state of the weather.

Letter of
Thomas
McKean
as to Sign-
ing Declara-
tion of In-
dependence

The appendices to this edition of Marshall's diary add interest to the text, particularly Appendix D, consisting of a letter, dated June 16, 1817, by Thomas McKean, respecting the Declaration of Independence, explaining how his name as a signer had been omitted in the early printing of the document, how he had sent for Caesar Rodney to come post haste to break the tie existing between himself and George Read in casting the vote of Delaware, and how it came about that the names of Matthew Thornton, Benjamin Rush, George Clymer, James Smith, George Taylor and George Ross appeared upon the roll of immortals, although they were not members of the Continental Congress on July 4, 1776. He explains also the split in the Pennsylvania delegation on July 1, John Morton, Benjamin Franklin and James Wilson voting in the affirmative, and John Dickinson, Robert Morris, Thomas Willing and Charles Humphreys in the negative. On July 4, the first three voted as before, Dickinson and Morris, though present, did not take their seats, and Willing and Humphreys adhered to their former attitude of opposition.†

The value of Marshall's diary is well known to present day students of the Revolution. The Society is fortunate in possessing not only the original manuscript of the diarist, and Mr. Duane's own manuscript copy, but also an interleaved

* Accession Book & Minutes of the Society. A portrait in oil of Christopher Marshall, after the original in possession of the family, was presented to the Society by Charles Marshall.

† See *post*, Vol. II of this History, Chapter IV, and especially Dr. Stillé's account of the attitude of Dickinson and others in the *Penna. Mag. of Hist. & Biog.*, XIII, 385.

copy of the printed book, containing explanatory notes by Mr. Duane in his beautifully clear handwriting.

And now for the fruits of delay, reaped as late as 1923. Marshall had become a leading citizen of Lancaster, living there until his death in the early part of 1797. The late George Steinman, an ardent lover of American history, and an enthusiastic collector and extra-illustrator after the fashion of Ferdinand J. Dreer, inlaid the letter press of 5-3/4 inches by 3-1/3 to pages of 14 inches by 10-1/2, and expanded the original small octavo into four superb quarto volumes bound in three-quarter morocco. For ten years, from 1890 to 1900, he diligently collected portraits, drawings, autographic documents and letters with which to illustrate the text and inlaid these to the full size. The portraits vary in value, some being excessively rare while others are of inferior worth, but the autographs—some of them of the greatest excellence, both as to matter, dates and condition—form a revolutionary collection of educational value, while their number and fitness to the text constitute a work which cannot fail to command the admiration of the *cognoscenti*. This work, so lovingly pursued by Mr. Steinman, became the property of this Society, on March 2, 1923, in accordance with his verbal wish, through the generosity of George S. Franklin of Lancaster, in waiving his technical rights as heir.*

*Steinman's
Gift to the
Society of
an Extra-
Illustrated
Copy of
Marshall's
Diary*

* Accession Book & Minutes of the Council of the Society.

CHAPTER XII

Du Ponceau's Administration

The Later Years — Discoveries of Papers — Presentation of Logan Papers — Gift of Louis Philippe — Gifts of John Jordan, Jr. — Vol. IV of the Memoirs — Hazard's Registers

*Discoveries
of Papers
in 1842-44*

DURING the years 1842, 1843 and 1844, the accessions of the Society grew apace. It was announced, quite carelessly, that "the Provincial records of Pennsylvania from 1664 to 1682" had been found accidentally at Stenton by Dr. Logan. The paper was presented in June of the first named year. Subsequently, this vague and incorrect description was corrected by John Fanning Watson, who stated that the document found was the book of court proceedings at Upland from 1676 to 1681. Its publication, under the careful and learned editorship of Edward Armstrong, was delayed until 1860, when it formed the first half of Volume VII of the *Memoirs* of this Society. In February, 1843, the first volume of manuscripts of the Logan papers, indexed and bound, was submitted to the Council by Mr. Duane acting for Dr. Logan. In April the second volume, also indexed and bound, was submitted. So far as we have been able to trace their contents, they have not yet been printed. They are not to be confounded with the Penn and Logan correspondence which played so long a part in the negotiations with the American Philosophical Society, and now form Volumes IX and X of the *Memoirs*. These were published in 1870 and 1871, as edited by Mr. Armstrong.

*Presentation
to
the Society
of Logan
Papers*

*A Gift
from Louis
Philippe*

Then came a royal gift. Louis Philippe, responding doubtless to the skilful touch of Mr. Du Ponceau in spreading abroad knowledge of the existence of this Society, presented a copy of a work descriptive of the splendors of the galleries at Versailles. Acknowledgment was made in the following resolutions drawn by our president:

Resolved, that the Society has received with feelings of lively gratitude the donation made

to them by his Majesty The King of the French of the valuable works descriptive of the Monuments contained in the magnificent galleries of the palace of Versailles dedicated to the glory of the Nation over which he happily reigns:

Resolved, that the Society has observed with great satisfaction that among the monuments of the reign of that monarch who first acknowledged the independence of the United States, and whose friendship and zeal for the cause of our country did not cease to be displayed by his friendly assistance until our rights were fully secured by an honorable peace, there are no less than five paintings illustrative of the siege and capture of Yorktown, an event which was achieved by the united arms of the two countries, and the memory of which is so well fitted to strengthen and perpetuate the friendship existing between them:

Resolved, that the Corresponding Secretary shall send a certified copy of these resolutions to his Majesty's minister at Washington with a request that he will be pleased to transmit it to the proper authority in order that this expression of our gratitude may meet the eye of the Royal donor.

Then came repeated gifts from John Jordan, Jr., who had been elected a member on September 23, 1840, and who was to prove for fifty years a munificent benefactor of the Society. These gifts included an orderly book of the Revolutionary war, some of Jefferson's writings, the *Federalist*, Webster's speeches, Brissot's *New Travels in the United States of America*, lives of Gouverneur Morris, John Jay, William Livingston, New Jersey and Connecticut collections, *et id omne genus*, some fifty volumes in all.* Thus did the stream of books and pamphlets and public documents, congressional and state, continue to pour in.

*Gifts of
John
Jordan, Jr.*

* Accession Book.

The attentive reader will have observed that under Mr. Du Ponceau the activities of the Society, in contrast with those under Mr. Rawle, consisted not so much in publications by the Society, as in arousing state interest in the preservation and publication of colonial archives, encouraging authors, accumulating material, and reclaiming papers in private hands. In fact the intellectual output of the Society was sparse indeed. Between the years 1837 and 1844 but 212 pages appeared, constituting Part I of Volume IV of *Memoirs*, printed in 1840. Part II of the same volume did not appear until 1850. All but 87 pages of this meagre 212 were devoted to President Du Ponceau's inaugural address, to the memoir of William Rawle by Thomas I. Wharton, and to the memoir of Roberts Vaux by Judge Pettit. The substance of all these has been referred to in their appropriate places in the preceding text.

The remaining papers were of a miscellaneous character. There was a description by Walter R. Johnson of curious aboriginal tracings of the figures of animals—deer, elk, and wolves—on the face of a sandstone rock on the west branch of the Susquehanna, illustrating the text of an account of incidents in the history of the early settlers of that region. There was a tart depreciation of Beauchamp Plantagenet's *Brief Description of the Province of New Albion* (1648) by the sarcastic and skeptical John Penington, "an esteemed Bibliophilist as well as Bibliopolist" of the day.* Finally, there were eighteen inedited letters of William Penn transcribed from the originals or authentic copies. In introducing these, Joshua Francis Fisher stated that he had lent to a friend, since dead, many letters which had been lost or mislaid by the borrower; that to prevent a similar fate to the remainder, he had presented copies to the Society for publication in the *Memoirs*. The letters were addressed chiefly to noblemen, including Lord Culpepper, one of the proprietors of Virginia, Lord Hyde, second son of the great Earl of Clarendon, Henry Sidney,

* This paper provoked, in 1881, a serious and well considered rejoinder from the pen of the Reverend Edward D. Neill, in Volume V of the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* and an important and learned criticism of both papers under the title of "Sir Edmund Plowden's Patent for New Albion," by Professor Gregory B. Keen, in Volume VI of the same magazine.

brother of Algernon Sidney, and the Duke of York. Mr. Fisher paid them this tribute: "Besides their historical importance, the letters of William Penn are surpassed by few others in beauty and eloquence; they breathe the spirit of philanthropy and patriotism, which we know animated his actions; and exhibiting all his inmost thoughts and feelings, must needs add a new charm to the character of our Great Lawgiver."

The falling off in mass but not in quality of official publications was due to the heavy burden of expense incident upon the production of the first three volumes of *Memoirs*; to the difficulty in disposing of copies outside of a very limited membership; and, chiefly, to the competition of Hazard's *Register*. From January, 1828, to December, 1835, one of our members, Mr. Samuel Hazard, following the footsteps of his father Ebenezer Hazard, under the auspices of the Society, had published in sixteen quarto volumes, a large and interesting collection of public documents, relative to the political, natural and statistical history of this state under the title of *Register of Pennsylvania*, which, during its life, fairly occupied the field.

The Competition of Hazard's Register

The Society made a strenuous effort to keep that publication alive. Two years before its demise, in 1835, Du Ponceau, Thomas P. Cope, Roberts Vaux, Mathew Carey, Thomas C. James, Walter R. Johnson, John Sergeant, J. R. Tyson, Ch. Chauncey, W. H. DeLancey, John M. Scott, Joseph Hopkinson and Henry Baldwin, subscribers from the commencement of the publication, declared, in a spontaneous appeal, their "entire confidence in recommending it to the public as a work eminently deserving the support of every enlightened Pennsylvanian, and worthy of a distinguished place in every public Library in our country." With fruitless but touching eloquence, they continued:

Efforts to Keep Hazard's Register Alive

Whoever reveres the memory of the founders of Pennsylvania—whoever regards with interest the magnanimous labours that have raised her to the enviable rank which she holds among the states of the confederacy, whoever looks with pleasure upon the gigantic public improvements that are scattered over her extended surface, and

upon the exhaustless treasures which those improvements are destined to develope, cannot fail to possess a correspondent interest in the work of which it is a leading object to treasure up the record of those events which have made Pennsylvania what we now behold her.

These words, though full of light, were but lanterns to the grave. On December 26, 1835, the publication was discontinued "in consequence of the very limited patronage received."

*Hazard's
U. S. Com-
mercial &
Statistical
Register*

In 1839, Mr. Hazard attempted a new publication on broader lines, entitled *The United States Commercial and Statistical Register*, which ran into six volumes between July of that year and December, 1842, when it, too, was abandoned. In March, 1841, the Council of the Society made an arrangement with Mr. Hazard for the publication in his new enterprise "of such papers belonging to the Society as may be deemed worthy of preservation—to appear in that periodical as under the sanction of this Society." No such papers ever appeared, doubtless because the new *Register* was loaded with matters affecting the commerce, manufactures, agriculture, internal improvements, banks, currency and education of the United States at large, amongst which our own characteristic literature would have been lost. We did not again appear in print until 1845, when a *Bulletin*, to be noticed in a later chapter, was issued.*

* *Post*, Chapter XVI.

CHAPTER XIII

Du Ponceau Administration

1833 1844

An Era of General Disturbance — National Panics — Pennsylvania Defaults in Interest Payments, but Scorns Repudiation — Riots in Philadelphia — Strikes — Native American Movement — Effect upon this Society — Efforts to Revive the Society — Du Ponceau's Testamentary Plea — Revival — Death of Du Ponceau

A PARTIAL EXPLANATION of this suspension of activity may be found in the unsettled conditions which prevailed throughout the nation. The times were everywhere unpropitious for the open worship of Clio. The votaries of the muse of history sat sorrowfully in the shadows cast by ruined institutions and successive panics. *Suspension of Activities*

Let us recall pertinent history in a rapid summary of events between 1833 and 1844. Storm clouds had been gathering over the country with heavy rumblings of disaster until the actual tempest burst in 1837, followed by a second and still severer financial cyclone in 1839. No corner of the land escaped. The origin and centre of disturbance was Philadelphia. The Bank of the United States, presided over by Nicholas Biddle, had incurred the enmity of President Jackson. It was ordered that the government deposits be withdrawn. The Secretary of the Treasury, William J. Duane, proving obdurate, was removed, and the deed was done by the pliant Roger B. Taney in 1834. For a time the bank stood firm and met all its engagements, but finally reeled beneath the blow. The loss of a strong, steady, controlling fiscal agent let loose the mischiefs of wildcat banking in the states. Inflation ensued and was at its height by 1836, carrying trade off its feet. Stocks of all kinds rose and then soared. The inevitable reaction followed, and with it came hard times and business depression. State banks refused loans, wages were reduced, mills and factories shut down, blast furnaces were extinguished, the remaining working men struck for higher wages; speculation in real estate, which had been *The Panics of 1837 and 1839*
Financial Failures

running wild, collapsed; state improvements were checked, the stocks of railroads and canals were thrown on the market; the prices of commodities rose and there was actual scarcity of money. Specie payments were suspended.*

*Pennsyl-
vania De-
faults in
the Payment
of Interest
on her
Bonds*

Until the panic of 1837 swept over the country, the credit of Pennsylvania was unimpaired and her bonds commanded a premium. In August of that year, owing to the suspension of specie payments, and in February, 1838, and July, 1839, interest was met in paper money and these bonds fell below par. Governor Ritner, to save the honor of the state, rejecting the alternatives of borrowing at ruinous rates or of selling the state canals and railroads, called upon the legislature to apply the drastic remedy of taxation. It was too late. Before the taxes could be collected, Pennsylvania in February, 1840, defaulted in the payment of interest.

In the meantime the situation was complicated in 1838 at Harrisburg by the "Buck-shot War." The pages of McMaster and of Schouler are colored with incidents illustrative of this event, taken from the collections of newspapers and magazines assembled by this Society in later and happier years of calm.

*Run on
the Banks*

The situation was not much improved in the early forties. There was a general currency famine. At this crisis the Girard Bank in Philadelphia failed and closed its doors. This stoppage caused a shortage of currency, and other banks refused to cash checks, but stamped them "good." A run began on the Bank of Pennsylvania where state funds had been deposited to meet the interest on state bonds. Finding that this money was disappearing the governor instructed the attorney general to apply for an injunction which closed the bank, and again, on February 1, 1842, Pennsylvania defaulted in her payments. Then came a run on the Penn Township Bank, one of the largest of the relief banks established under the Act of May 4, 1841. Suspension followed and panic was omnipresent among the houses and firms whose money was locked up in the broken banks. The legislature, in July 1842, authorized the governor to borrow money on certificates of state stock redeemable on August 1, 1843, to cover the state's default in the preceding

* For details, let the reader consult Hazard's *Register*, IV, 1841, and he will find that the statistics of disaster are full of interest.

February and to meet the interest accruing in August, 1842. The governor was further required to sell at public auction all bank, turnpike, bridge, canal, railroad and navigation companies' stock owned by the commonwealth, but though more than two millions of these were offered in Philadelphia, no bids were made, and not a dollar's worth was sold.

All sorts of remedies were suggested. As the panic was nation-wide, Congress was asked to assume state debts. There were state stay laws, appraisement laws, and exemption acts, and by Congress a repeal of the Bankrupt Act. One humane and sensible result was the abolition, in 1842, of imprisonment for debt in Pennsylvania. Of what use was it to choke the jails with debtors, when everyone was in debt and liable to arrest? Besides, "bread money" to keep the debtors alive was costly to the creditor. What folly it was to treat poverty as a crime, or to lock up a sturdy workman, whose wife and children needed his help even though that help was limited to digging roots or plucking dandelion leaves.

*Remedies
Suggested*

Some useful economic lessons had been learned, but at a frightful cost. Would that they could be remembered; would that our pseudo-statesmen were students of history; would that some of our teachers and statesmen were not so scornful of the past. Government partnerships in business corporations, or state ownership of public utilities, whether in banking, transportation or manufacturing, had been shown to be dangerous, reckless, wasteful, extravagant and disastrous. The proof, incontestable and irrefutable, is among the archives of this Society and open to the examination of any present day student of economic laws.

*Economic
Lessons*

We now turn to municipal conditions bred by political, racial and religious antagonisms. In 1837 the societies for promoting the abolition of slavery had grown strong enough to purchase ground and build a hall on Sixth Street below Race, known as Pennsylvania Hall. David Paul Brown had delivered an oration there on May 14, the day of dedication, favoring abolition. Two days later, more radical speeches were made by William Lloyd Garrison and others from Boston. Much excitement ensued, followed by riotous gatherings in the street, accompanied by insults to the speakers. The man-

*Riots in
Philadelphia*

*The Burn-
ing of Penn-
sylvania
Hall*

agers of the hall, insisting on the right of free discussion, became alarmed and appealed to the mayor for protection. He counselled the giving up of night meetings, advice which was disregarded. On the evening of the seventeenth the doors were forced, and by the time the police had arrived the building was in flames and by morning the ruin was complete.

The next night the Shelter for Colored Orphans, an unobtrusive establishment managed by Friends, on Thirteenth Street above Callowhill, was set on fire, but was saved by the prompt action of Morton McMichael, the police magistrate of the district of Spring Garden, aided by citizens and volunteer firemen.*

*Attacks on
Negroes*

During the summer Negroes were attacked and beaten in Southwark, and a watchman named Batt, while on duty at Third and Shippen Streets, was killed by an infuriated Negro. In August, 1841, colored men, in a procession of the Moyamensing Temperance Society, were assaulted by a crowd of men and boys, the firing of a gun provoked the breaking of windows and doors of dwellings occupied by Negroes in the alleys leading into Lombard Street between Fifth and Eighth Streets. Smith's Beneficial Hall, a building erected by Stephen Smith, a colored man, as a place of meeting for literary and beneficial societies, was set on fire and completely destroyed. The next day Irish laborers in the coal yards on the Schuylkill River attacked their black fellow workmen. The riot spread as far east as Thirteenth Street in the Moyamensing District.

*Strikes in
Kensington*

In the early part of 1843 there were weavers' riots in Kensington, armed strikers assaulting those who remained at work. The "Nanny-Goat Market," which had served as a fortress against mob attack, was surrounded by men using clubs and bricks, until relieved by eight companies of General Cadwalader's brigade.

*The Native
American
Movement*

Then came the Native American Movement, in 1844, fostered by associations in various parts of the city and county of Philadelphia. These associations insisted on a stringent extension of the naturalization laws, and the restriction of eligibility to all offices, legislative, executive and judicial, to native Americans. Riots, shootings and arson were frequent. The

* Mr. McMichael later became mayor of consolidated Philadelphia.

troops were called out, under Generals Cadwalader and Patterson, to assist Sheriff McMichael, Mayor John M. Scott, and Colonel James Page. The Roman Catholic church of St. Michael at the corner of Second and Jefferson Streets, was set on fire, and completely burned. While the First City Troop was guarding the Roman Catholic church of St. Augustine on Fourth Street below Vine, sacrilegious incendiaries succeeded in baffling observation and set the interior on fire. The flames spread from pew to pew, from galleries to the roof, ascended the steeple, consumed the lofty cross and licked the stars.

These wide-spread disorders and the inability of the police powers to cope with them, because of the numerous political subdivisions of Philadelphia County into the city, and numerous districts, boroughs, and townships, revealed conditions which in time urged on the Consolidation Act of 1854. This Act, in miniature, resembled the Constitution of the United States in bringing many separate sovereignties under a single central control.

The adversities of nation, state and city enveloping the Du Ponceau administration, have been dwelt upon at some length, because they enable us in part to understand the almost desperate condition to which this Society was reduced. It would be unjust to attribute the sinking spell to the weakness of age or to slackened zeal on the part of the venerable president. It is clear from the authentic data of the minutes of both the Society and of the Council, that he was but weakly supported. The record of the year 1837—the year in which he first appeared as president—is almost tragic. There was but one meeting of the Society during the entire year which commanded a quorum, and the attendance of members at that meeting in May was but eight. All the surviving founders, save Dr. Coates, were absent. In August and November the attendance shrank to three. The Council, though required by the by-laws to meet monthly, was slackness itself. Following the annual election in February, the president found himself attended by five councillors, two of them vice presidents, present, doubtless, out of compliment to their recently chosen chief, for they did not reappear. The meetings of March and April were without a quorum, although the number had been reduced

*Effect of
these Ad-
versities on
the Society*

*The Year
1837*

from seven to five, and the president, with the aid of Councilors Barclay, Fisher and Tyson, could transact no business except to receive the donation of Mr. Leaming's books on Tudor and Stuart history. In May there was a slight rally, the attendance actually exceeding the number present at the meeting of the Society held in the same month by one. In June, five gentlemen assisted the president in directing a small bill for advertising to be paid, and then adjourned for want of business. In July and August there was no quorum. In September there was a rally to nine, and a few gifts were received. In October, November and December no meetings of the Council took place. Yet the old man stood always at his post, Fisher and Tyson being the only ones constant in their support.

*A Sinking
Spell*

In 1838, at the February election by the Society at large, there were but twelve members present. In May there were but six; in August, no number of those present is recorded, but the dismal words "no quorum" are entered. The Council was equally derelict. At the January meeting, there were six present including the president, and the only business transacted was to request the president "to address a Note to the Treasurer for information of the State of the funds of the Soc'y." No meetings of the Council whatever were held until the following November, and then but six members appeared, who adjourned after appointing "Mr. Du Ponceau & Mr. Vaughan [to] be a Com^{ee}. to ascertain whether a suitable number of lecturers can be obtained to justify the undertaking of a course of lectures on historical subjects, during the present winter, by the Society."

*The Year
1838*

*Efforts to
Revive the
Society*

Some efforts to resuscitate the Society were made. At the meeting in February, 1838, Samuel Breck took advantage of the unprecedentedly large attendance of *twelve* at a stated meeting of the Society, to present the following: "*Resolved*, that a Com. be appointed to consider & suggest a plan which may help to revive the Society, & that the Com. be instructed to report at the next meeting." Breck, Vaughan and Leaming were so commissioned. In May, Breck, as chairman, reported, but the report cannot be found among the archives, and no detail is given in the minutes. However, we can judge something of its contents from the entry on the minutes of a resolu-

tion appended to the report: "*Resolved*, that application be made forthwith for payment of moneys due on subscription list; that members who have resigned, be invited to return; that the unsold copies of the last publication be distributed for sale among respectable booksellers, & that a Com. be app'd on Lectures. . . ."

The minutes of the Council throw no additional light on the matter, but fortunately a letter, dated "March 15/38." addressed by "S. Breck" to "John Vaughan, Esq." has been preserved, in which this passage occurs:

By the enclosed list of members of the Hist. So. of Penn^a. you will see that the deaths are 22; the resignations 50, and the number remaining as members is 53. Perhaps several of those who have resigned, may be induced to rejoin.—At any rate, even with our present number, there is no occasion to dissolve, or to think of any such thing. Should you be of this opinion, please to return me the list; and after conferring with Mr. Leaming, I will draw up a report upon the subject.

*Mr. Breck's
Firm Stand*

Following Breck's report there must have been a fair measure of success in making collections, for at the November meeting of the Society the five members present, while peering over the donation of a manuscript entitled "Accounts of the Overseers of the Poor of the City of Philad^a. from March 29, 1758 to March 21, 1759," which must have amusingly or, perhaps dismally, suggested their own condition, were cheered by the report of the treasurer that there was "about \$140." in hand. Clearly, the year's rent of \$50.00, accruing the following December, was amply covered.

During the year 1839, there was no improvement in the attendance at the stated meetings of the Society. In February, marked by the re-election of Mr. Du Ponceau as president, and the election of Judge Joseph Hopkinson, Senator B. R. Morgan, Judge T. M. Pettit and Thomas I. Wharton as vice-presidents, with J. Francis Fisher as corresponding secretary, and Job R. Tyson as recording secretary, there were but six

*The Society
on the Verge
of Collapse*

*The Year
1839*

members present; in May, but five, with "no business"; in August, four, with a rally in November to twelve. The meetings of the Council collapsed. In January, 1839, Vaughan, Barclay, Fisher, Elwyn and Tyson met to read letters from Du Ponceau and Breck, asking to be excused from attendance. In February and March there were no meetings. In April, Du Ponceau, Vaughan, Barclay, Breck and Tyson condoled over the death of Mr. Walmsley, the treasurer, and chose Mr. Barclay as his successor. At the same meeting a committee was appointed to urge Albanus C. Logan to deposit his mother's papers with the Society. May, June, July, and the remaining months of the year are all marked "No quorum."

No wonder is it that Mr. Du Ponceau, thoroughly disheartened, while writing his will, dated December, 1839, used words which appear in the instrument as probated after his death in April, 1844:

I give and bequeath to the Historical Society of Pennsylvania my copy of the Votes of Assembly previous to the Revolution, the Works of William Penn given to me by my deceased friend Judge Hallowell, Clarkson's Life of William Penn and Proud's History of Pennsylvania, also two hundred dollars.

*Mr. Du
Ponceau's
Testamen-
tary Plea
for the
Society*

The Historical Society of Pennsylvania is in danger of perishing for want of support. While almost every other State has an historical society, shall it be said that Pennsylvania wants one? Under the auspices of its illustrious founder, William Rawle, it has produced interesting and valuable memoirs: the honour of the State requires that the work should be continued. I recommend to them to increase the number of their members, and, perhaps, to raise the annual subscription to five dollars. I would also recommend to them to apply for aid to the Legislature: No one would be better able, than a committee from their body, to continue the publication of our ancient records so honourably

begun, and which appears to be suspended. Science and literature are the glory of a State; canals and rail roads are perishable. The noble aqueducts, temples, roads, of the Greeks and Romans, have perished, but their literary fame will last forever. If England were sunken into the ocean, her fame would be perpetuated by the works of her admirable historians, philosophers and poets. Let those, whose minds are impressed with these feelings, exert themselves and act.

I hope the annual celebration of the landing of the great William Penn will not be discontinued, and that the Society will revive under better auspices than have for some time attended it. Might it not be remodeled and united to the Historical Society?

The American Philosophical Society have only to pursue their present honourable course.

The above objects being very near my heart, I have ventured to give vent to my feelings upon them. Perhaps it is out of place, but my heart is full, and I could not help it.

It is impossible to handle the original manuscript of this will, penned by a hand trembling with age and emotion, without responsive sympathy.

There were but three meetings of the Society in 1840, from one of which the president was absent. The treasurer reported a balance of \$57.35; four new members were secured during the year, while a ripple was caused by Mr. Penington's caustic attack on the credit of Beauchamp Plantagenet's *New Albion*, which has been already noticed.* The Council met in February, March, May, and September, but lacked a quorum in all the other months. There were some signs of renewed activity in the earlier part of the season, notably the making of a contract with McCarty and Davis for the printing of Part I of Volume IV of the *Memoirs*, the receipt of the

The Year
1840

Slight
Signs
of Life

* *Ante*, p. 174.

inedited letters of William Penn already reviewed, and the reading by Judge Pettit—four years late—of his biographical address on Roberts Vaux, before an audience of six of his fellow councillors. The September meeting displayed unwonted vigor. Mr. Tyson reported success in obtaining the long coveted Logan papers; the cost of new membership was boldly raised to five dollars. Mr. Du Ponceau, adopting the broad views of his predecessor in office, proposed that the restrictions in the constitution, prescribing a Pennsylvania nativity, be stricken out, and that the objects of the Society be so enlarged as to include other branches of American history than those exclusively Pennsylvanian. Quite the most important act, as now judged from its consequences although then entirely unforeseen, was the election of John Jordan, Jr., to membership.

Sufficient evidence of the conditions prevailing during these years of gloom has been presented to inform the reader of the low water mark in the affairs of the Society. This unhappy state did not escape public notice. An anonymous writer addressed a letter to the editors of the *National Gazette* under date of July 20, 1841, as follows:

Communication

*Editorial
Slur*

Messrs. Editors—in announcing last week Mr. Tyson's intention to address the Historical Society in October next, you contrast incidentally, the spirit of historical research that animates the New Yorkers with the sluggishness in these matters that exists here. You indicate and justly as confirmatory of this reproach and as a spur to action the volume last published of their transactions. We have a Historical Society that does little, a Historical Committee of the Philosophical Society, which does less, and a William Penn Society, or something of the sort that does nothing. Thus with the necessary material for vigorously carrying on the siege, all hands lie down in the trenches and go to sleep! This state of things is discreditable to Philadelphia.

EHEU.

It is gratifying to note that on the day following this stinging publication, at a stated meeting of the Council marked by the presence of eight members with the venerable president in the chair, the secretary records: "A Scurrilous paragraph that appeared in the National Gazette of the 20th inst. was laid before the meeting by the President & became, justly, the subject of severe animadversion on the part of members present." With this instance of renewed vitality, due to the quick spirit of the president who "felt a stain like a wound," we will content ourselves with a summary of what was accomplished during the next three years, it being no longer necessary to issue bulletins of a feeble pulse and impeded respiration.

*Renewed
Vitality*

In the succeeding years efforts were made to awaken public interest by inviting statesmen of national renown to address the Society. The Honorable John Sergeant, famous for his great speech on the Missouri Compromise, a nominee for the vice-presidency in 1832, and a brother of our third president, Thomas Sergeant, was approached, but declined owing to the pressure of his congressional duties. The Honorable John Quincy Adams was then invited and accepted should his health permit, but no indication can be found of actual fulfilment. There was also a proposal that the Honorable Caleb Cushing, late envoy of the United States to China, be invited to address the Society, which after discussion was withdrawn.

*The Years
1842-44*

*Plan for
Lectures*

A course of lectures was then suggested "as the best means of attracting attention to this Society, and increasing its capacity of usefulness . . . that the object of our Society being the promotion and advancement of the Knowledge of History and particularly that of our own country and of our own State and that branch of Knowledge being an essential part of the education of our youth whose attendance on our lectures will be auxiliary to the labors of their instructors it will be the duty of the committee to see that the lectures are directed to that important object and to announce them to the public as historical lectures."

This was the plan of William B. Reed, later an attorney general of Pennsylvania and of marked accomplishments as a historian and essayist. It was mentioned to the Council that Jared Sparks, later the president of Harvard University, was

*The Plan
of William
B. Reed*

delivering a course of ten lectures in New York before the Historical Society for which he was to receive \$500. As this arrangement was anticipated to result in eclat and in pecuniary benefit to that institution the expediency of inviting him to deliver a similar course in this city was submitted. The quiet remark of Mr. Fisher that he knew that "Mr. Sparks could not leave New York this winter," while chilling the ardor of Mr. Reed, doubtless relieved the anxiety of the treasurer who had just presented the bill of the Philosophical Society for one year's rent. The plan was not revived for some years.

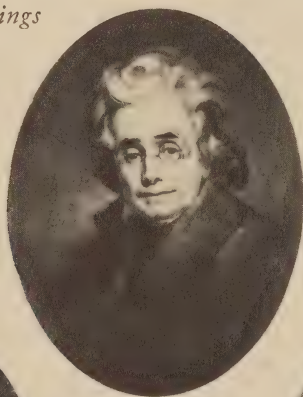
It was one of our own members who stepped into the breach. Job R. Tyson, who had for several years served as recording secretary and then yielded this place to become a vice-president, delivered, on Washington's Birthday, 1842, a *Mr. Tyson's Address* "Discourse on the Colonial History of the Eastern and Some of the Southern States." It awakened at the time enthusiastic admiration but did not appear in print as a part of the *Memoirs* of the Society until 1850, as the opening number in Part II of Volume IV. In point of historical scholarship it far out-ranked any paper of its day. His main thesis, supported by ample proofs drawn chiefly from searching studies of New England writers, was: "History then does not support the positions of the New England historians. It shows that the principles of an enlarged social freedom, as these principles are recognised at the present day, in this country, do not owe their existence to the Puritan adventurers, but that they have triumphed in spite of the opposition of an organized and illiberal hostility." He scouted the pretension that to New England belonged the exclusive honor of having originated the free principles which marked American political society, or that it was her hand that sowed the seeds which gave them birth. Liberty was not *discovered* by the Pilgrims. With a boldness of utterance unusual in those days he laid bare the dark and tragical persecutions by which Roger Williams was driven into exile, Quakers whipped in the streets of Boston and witches hanged at Salem. He was not blind to the merits of New England in presenting to the country the prototype of confederated colonies or in conferring upon mankind the blessings of a system of common schools. His tribute to the *His Attack on New England and Defense of Pennsylvania*



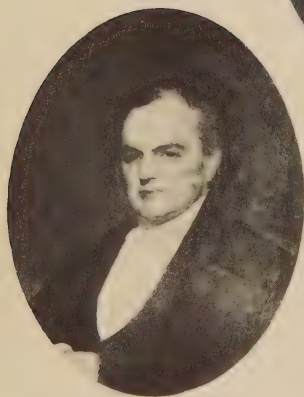
Roberts Vaux
Chairman of First Meetings
1824



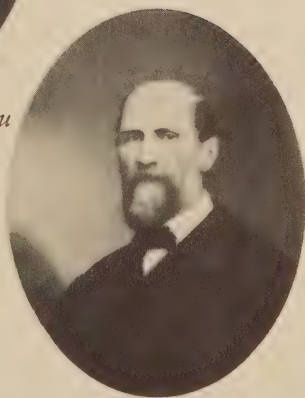
William Rawle
1825-1836



Peter S. Du Ponceau
1837-1845



Thomas Sergeant
1845-1858



George W. Norris
1858-1860

Presidents of the Society
1824-1860

principles of Penn and to the character of our founder was not deformed by narrow partisanship, but was the ripe result of a deliberate, comparative study of the peculiarities of each colony. It is not too much to say that slight as was the performance, in spirit it anticipated the keen analysis and the far reaching views of present day writers such as Charles M. Andrews and James Truslow Adams. Though long forgotten, it struck a high note, and must have rejoiced the hearts of those of his colleagues who had smarted under the gibes of the *Gazette*.

The closing scenes of the Du Ponceau administration were shifted rapidly. The Society, in May, 1841, ratified the amendments to the constitution proposed by the Council; directed the Secretary to distribute spare copies of the *Memoirs* to twenty-five institutions, from the Apprentices' Library to the University of Göttingen; received donations of orderly books and Revolutionary documents; made desultory and vain searches during 1843 for new quarters, failing in negotiations with the Mercantile Library; received from Mr. Duane the gift of "a very neat ballot box," and, in February, 1844, unanimously elected Du Ponceau as president for the last time.

*Closing
Scenes
of the
Du Ponceau
Adminis-
tration*

The Council in March, 1841, on motion of Du Ponceau, imposed a fine of twenty-five cents on every member absent from the meetings without a satisfactory excuse. As this offended several members, notably Mr. Breck, Mr. Barclay, in the following May, attempted a rescision, but without success. In October, 1841, the Council tentatively considered a device of a seal for the Society but without result, and received with sorrow in January, 1842, the news of the death of John Vaughan, their fellow member and the obliging representative of their landlord. The following tribute from the pen of Mr. Tyson was entered on the Minutes:

*Tribute to
John
Vaughan*

This Council deeply participating in the feeling of grief which pervades the community for the death of Jno Vaughan Esq order this memorial to be inscribed on its minutes. He was the oldest of our associates & for many years a member of this Council. Though long past the age of

three score & ten he continued to manifest to the last an unabated interest in the prosperity of the Society & the liveliest zeal in the promotion of its objects. His memory is endeared to his survivors by the recollection of all those good qualities of mind & disposition which in life warmed our hearts with love & which in death has penetrated them with sorrow.

*Stated
Meetings
of the
Council*

In March, 1842, the Council resolved that the stated meetings of the Council should thereafter be held on the fourth Monday of every month, a regulation which is still adhered to. They found time to discuss among themselves the authorship of the preamble to the Act of 1780 abolishing slavery in Pennsylvania. George Washington Smith "communicated some traditional matter tending to show that Thomas Paine was the author," while William B. Reed stated that "he had ascertained from Mr. Hopper of New York, that the late Mr. William Lewis was the author of the preamble and law commonly known as the Abolition Act of 1780." Mr. Burton Alva Konkle, in his recent life of George Bryan, has claimed the credit for his favorite.

*The Authorship
of the Abolition
Act
of 1780*

*The Shippen
Papers*

In October, 1842, a most important donation was received in the shape of manuscripts known as "The Shippen Papers," consisting of "Letters and Papers relating chiefly to the Provincial History of Pennsylvania," the editing and printing of which were entrusted in 1855 to the distinguished scholar Thomas Balch, whose work will be reviewed in its appropriate place.*

*Death of
Du Ponceau*

On October 23, 1843, Mr. Du Ponceau appeared for the last time in the chair, which had been filled during his continuous absences by Vice-President Tyson. On April 1, 1844, our second president—in his eighty-fourth year—breathed his last. He died as full of honors as of days, in the presidency of three institutions, all sheltered beneath the same roof—the American Philosophical Society, The Historical Society of Pennsylvania, and the Athenaeum of Philadelphia. His crown was truly *triplex gemmis auroque corona*.

* *Post*, Chapter XVII.

For the first time in our history the minutes, in the beautiful handwriting of Edward Armstrong, as secretary,—soon to serve the Society in distinguished labors—appeared between broad black lines.

Special Meeting

Tuesday April 2, 1844

The Hon Thomas Sergeant having been called to the chair Mr J. R. Tyson after some prefatory remarks in relation to the object of the meeting submitted the following resolutions, which were seconded by Judge Pettit & unanimously adopted

*Resolutions
Adopted*

Resolved, That the Society has heard with the deepest sensibility, of the irreparable loss it has sustained, in the death of Mr Du Ponceau, its very learned and venerable President.

Resolved, That his public renown as a writer and a savant, was not more eminent than the purity of his private life and social virtues.

Resolved, That the endowments, erudition & varied accomplishments of our late President were not merely a source of cherished pride to the members, but the means, which were always freely at our command, of the most extended usefulness to the institution; and that our published transactions attest the zeal which he took in the objects of the Society & the incomparable value of his aid as a contributor.

Resolved, That as a mark of our profound respect for our late President, the members will meet at his late residence, at the north east corner of 6th & Chestnut Streets on Thursday next, at 3 o'clk and attend his funeral in a body.

Resolved, That these resolutions be engrossed on the Minutes, & that a Committee of five be appointed to convey to his family our sympathy for their bereavement.

On motion the chairman was appointed a member of the committee. The chair then appointed Mr J. R. Tyson, Hon. T. M. Pettit & Messrs. Duane & Armstrong.

On motion of Mr Rawle, seconded by Mr Foulke, it was resolved that the proceedings of this meeting be published.

Edwd Armstrong,
Secty.

At a meeting of the Council, in July, 1844, Job R. Tyson was selected to prepare a memoir of Mr. Du Ponceau. This honorable task, for which Mr. Tyson was well qualified, was not performed until April 2, 1855. Although a copy was requested by the Society for publication, it was never printed and the manuscript cannot be found. It appears to the present writer highly probable that the reason of this long delay in the performance of duty was due to the circumstance that Dr. Robley Dunglison, the executor of Mr. Du Ponceau, and one of the secretaries of the American Philosophical Society, had delivered, on October 25, 1844, a commemorative discourse, before the oldest of the bodies of which Du Ponceau had been president, an address so admirably complete and vivid in style as to exhaust all available material and leave nothing to be improved on in manner of treatment.

CHAPTER XIV

The Administration of Thomas Sergeant

1845-1858

*Difficulties in Selecting a President — Thomas Sergeant Chosen —
Biographical Sketch of Judge Sergeant — His Ancestry — His Dis-
tinguished Career — His Varied Authorship*

THE chair of the president remained vacant until the February meeting of the Society in 1845. Little had been attempted and still less was accomplished during 1844, which might almost be called a year of suspended animation. The Society met only three times, and the minutes for the year occupy but four pages of broadly spaced paragraphs. Mr. Tyson and Judge Pettit divided the cheerless duty of presiding over gatherings attended by four to seven members.

*A Period of
Suspended
Animation*

The Council was more frequently convened, but displayed only feeble activity, and the results of their labors were negative. No new suitable quarters could be obtained, and no discoveries of historical papers had been made, after a thorough sifting by a competent and eager committee of the masses of dust-covered bundles heaped in the cellars and the lofts of the State House, and the courthouse at Sixth and Chestnut Streets. Nothing but mouldering records of proceedings under the Bankrupt Act of 1800 were unearthed, and some old dockets of the court of common pleas and the district court.

It will be a satisfaction to our readers to learn from the authority of the minutes that such a search, even though fruitless, was made by such men as Job R. Tyson, J. Francis Fisher and William B. Reed—ardent investigators, all of them—for it sets at rest a distressing doubt which has long troubled many of us, that no attempt had been made by our predecessors to examine the contents of the cellars beneath the State House and adjoining buildings in time to save precious material from feeding furnace fires in later days.

It was not an easy matter to agree upon a president. The office required a man greatly distinguished in the public eye.

*Difficulties
in Choosing
a President*

Thomas Sergeant, the senior vice-president, then an associate justice of the supreme court of Pennsylvania, was the most prominent, but he had taken very little part in the affairs of the Society, had appeared at a meeting of the Council only on the occasion of the adoption of the minute commemorative of Mr. Du Ponceau, and never had attended a meeting of the Society. Mr. Tyson, also a vice-president, had been most active as a member, and had contributed notable papers upon historical subjects, but he had not then attained the prominence of his later years, being at the time but forty-two years of age. Mr. Fisher was four years younger, zealous and generous in his devotion, but of a retiring disposition, shunning publicity, not even engaging in practice after his admission to the bar. Judge Pettit was far better known, and had at times assisted by services of value, but his attendances were very irregular and his performances were dilatory. William Rawle, Jr., fifty-seven years of age and universally esteemed, had manifested no interest in the Society for more than fifteen years, notwithstanding the fact that he had been one of the founders. Thomas I. Wharton, also a founder, had resigned, three years before, from the Council. William B. Reed had been attorney general of Pennsylvania for a single year at the early age of thirty-three, but his unusual gifts as a scholar, a writer, and a biographer were not sufficiently known at that time to qualify him as the successor of the illustrious Du Ponceau.

*Thomas
Sergeant
Chosen*

The perplexities of the situation were finally met by the selection of Judge Sergeant. He personified what may be regarded as a logical step in the progress of the Society. Just as Rawle had been of indigenous Pennsylvania growth, and Du Ponceau an exotic transplanted to Pennsylvania soil, so Sergeant through his family connections and his own achievements represented the merger of the Colonial, Revolutionary, and post-Revolutionary periods, and, so to speak, clamped them together. It cannot be said that he threw himself into the work as his predecessors had done. On the contrary, with the exception of the year 1848, his personal participation was but slight throughout the entire thirteen years of his presidency. Owing to other engrossing duties, and, for many years, to ill health he was but nominally at the head of our affairs. It was not so

much inattention as physical disability. His name and character were sources of strength and influence, when influence was to be exerted. It is nonetheless a fact, however, that during his administration, the Society reached a stage of development when its history becomes more the history of the institution itself than an important part of the biography of a president.

But yet, this tall man of sixty-three years of age, of remote Connecticut, and of immediate New Jersey ancestry, the son of the first attorney general of Pennsylvania after the Declaration of Independence, the pupil of Jared Ingersoll, and the husband of the granddaughter of Benjamin Franklin, commands our respectful regard.*

One Jonathan Sergeant was a founder of Branford, Connecticut, one of the leaders of that thin but determined line of English settlers which steadily advanced from the east upon the Dutch posts on the Connecticut or Fresh River. He died in 1652, and his son Jonathan, inheriting the pioneer instinct, crossed the Sound and the broad bay of the lower Hudson, and helped to found Newark, New Jersey, in 1667, shortly after the English, under the treaty of Breda, had become possessors of New Netherland. His son, Jonathan the third, married as a second wife, in 1745, Abigail, the daughter of the Reverend Jonathan Dickinson, the renowned first president of the College of New Jersey.

Their son, taking the names of both families, was Jonathan Dickinson Sergeant, born at Newark in 1746, and graduated from Princeton in 1762. He quickly rose to distinction. After studying law under Richard Stockton, he followed his preceptor with ardor in espousing the interests of America against the Crown. He became clerk of the convention held at New Brunswick in July, 1774, which appointed delegates to the Continental Congress. He was a member and the principal secretary of the New Jersey Committee of Safety in August, 1775, and in the following February became a member of the Continental Congress at Philadelphia. Having been chosen in May, 1776, a member of the provincial congress of New Jer-

*His
Ancestry*

*Sketch of
Jonathan
Dickinson
Sergeant,
Father of
Thomas
Sergeant*

* The portrait on our walls is the original painted from life by Thomas Buchanan Read, poet as well as artist, the gift to us by the artist—November 17, 1852. Accession Book, I, 70.

sey, not seeing what fame had in store for the larger body, he resigned his seat to serve his native colony and thus missed the opportunity of placing his name beside that of his legal preceptor upon the Declaration of Independence. He returned to his membership in Congress in the following November, and, changing his residence to Philadelphia, became in July, 1777, the first attorney general of the commonwealth of Pennsylvania. This post he held until November, 1780, when he retired to private practice. His too early death at the age of forty-eight, in October, 1793, was due to over-exertion and exposure as a member of the Committee of Health during the epidemic of yellow fever.*

*The Mother
of Thomas
Sergeant*

His first wife, Margaret, the daughter of the Reverend Elihu Spencer, D.D., became, on January 14, 1782, the mother of twin sons, one of whom was Thomas Sergeant, our president. His brother John, older by three years, became the renowned statesman of whom Pennsylvania is so proud, and the rival at the bar of Horace Binney, by whom, in 1851, he was eulogized in the most exquisite mortuary address ever delivered at a meeting of the Philadelphia bar. His mother died when Thomas and his twin brother were but five years old, and they were reared by their step-mother, his father's second wife, who was the daughter of the far famed David Rittenhouse.

*Sketch of
Thomas
Sergeant*

With such unusual family connections and his father's high professional rank, the young Thomas enjoyed every educational advantage. As was inevitable, he and his twin brother Henry went to Princeton, graduating in the same class, Thomas winning the second place, the first honors being taken by a lad who rose to fame as Chief Justice Ewing of New Jersey. After graduation, Thomas entered as a student the law office of Jared Ingersoll, the preceptor of John Sergeant and Horace Binney, and the father of Joseph R. Ingersoll, our fifth president.

Admitted to the Philadelphia bar on June 8, 1802, Thomas Sergeant was appointed by Governor McKean to succeed his oldest brother, William, in the office of clerk of the mayor's

* The Society owns a portrait in oil of Jonathan Dickinson Sergeant copied by John Lambert from the original by Chas. Willson Peale, the gift of Dr. Richard H. Harte.

court,—a jurisdiction since superseded by the quarter sessions. In his early life, and indeed long afterwards, he was a writer for the journals and periodicals of the day, both in poetry and prose, all his contributions indicating refined taste and culture. One of these, entitled "Reflections in the City," is unusual in its preference "for the luxury of books" and "the enliv'ning joys that social converse yields" to "sequestered groves and solitary streams," for he "who leaves the cheerful converse of mankind to hear the shrill ear-torturing cries of owls, and the rude song of woods, but doats upon an idle dream." These words are a key to his character. All his life he was a devourer of books, which made his conversation as instructive as it was agreeable. It was, in giving expression to his own enthusiasms, that he wrote:

*His Early
Activities*

Of books, th' exclusive boast of civil life,
Exhaustless source of wisdom, ornament
Of youth, of age the solace and support,
Yielding in ev'ry state unmingled streams
Of never cloying bliss, The City brings
A large and various store, forever new,
Food for the 'mind of desultory man.'

He was a member of the lower house in the legislatures of 1812-1813 and 1813-1814, and for three years—1814-1817—under the presidency of Joseph Hemphill, served as an associate judge in the then recently constituted district court for the city and county of Philadelphia. At the same time, being a man of indefatigable industry, he reported, with William Rawle, Jr., the decisions of the supreme court of Pennsylvania in seventeen volumes—from 1814 to 1829—known to the profession as *Sergeant and Rawle's Reports*. While thus engaged, he resigned his judicial office in 1817 to become, under the appointment of Governor Findlay, the secretary of the commonwealth. Professionally starved because of the lack of books, he secured the necessary legislation and laid the foundation of the state law library at Harrisburg, displaying in his purchases the soundest judgment and scholarly information. While securing early copies of what are now known to be rare books, he was eminently practical in his selections. In

*His Public
Services*

*As a Re-
porter of
Decisions
of the
Supreme
Court*

As Attorney General July, 1819, he became attorney general, as the successor of Amos Ellmaker, but retired to private and lucrative practice in Philadelphia upon the election of Governor Hiester in 1820. In 1828, he was appointed by President John Quincy Adams postmaster of Philadelphia, and served in that office for four years. In 1834, he was appointed, by Governor Ritner, an associate justice of the supreme court of Pennsylvania, with Justices Rogers, Huston and Kennedy as his colleagues, under Chief Justice John Bannister Gibson. It was a strong court and Sergeant's opinions are still in high esteem for their brevity, clearness and accuracy. It was this office that he held when he became the president of this Society.

As an Author of Legal Works Prior to this, Judge Sergeant had been busy with his pen as a legal author, and it is no disparagement of others to assert that he was of the foremost rank. His books have become a permanent part of the literature of the law. To the historian of Pennsylvania law they are indispensable and unforgettable. This is due not only to their happy selection of subjects, but to the masterly character of his thorough workmanship. He was not content, as so many are, with making his text a mere dry digest of authority. He illustrated the truth of Sir Edward Coke's remark, "The law is unknown to him who knoweth not the reason thereof." He explored the sources of both principles and practice. He poured the light of history upon dark or neglected recesses. With tireless diligence he consulted the sages, dug into forgotten documents, extracted their essences, and was so far a master in the arrangement of his notes as never to yield to the temptations of pedantry.

In 1811, he published a *Treatise upon the Law of Pennsylvania Relative to the Proceeding by Foreign Attachment*. Let not the lay reader shudder. It was a practical explanation of the methods employed by counsel for Pennsylvania creditors in seizing upon the effects and credits within this state of foreign debtors, whether in our sister states or abroad. Instead of having to pursue debtors to their *extra* Pennsylvania residences in search of jurisdiction, the bank accounts, property and mercantile credits of the foreign debtor were attached wherever found within our bounds. The book has passed through several editions.

He published also, in 1822 and 1830, *Constitutional Law*, which elicited praise from Mr. Du Ponceau, and *The North American Review*. His most important work from the historian's point of view was his *Sketch of the National Judiciary Powers Exercised in the United States Prior to the Adoption of the Present Federal Constitution*. Unfortunately it was never printed separately, but was added to Du Ponceau's *Dissertation on the Jurisdiction of the Courts of the United States*, published in 1824. It has not escaped the eyes of J. Franklin Jameson in his *Essays on the Constitutional History of the United States*, and "The Predecessor of the Supreme Court," nor of the later historians of the Supreme Court of the United States.

His Constitutional Essays

In 1838, he published a *View of the Land Laws of Pennsylvania*, the first and in many respects the best scientific treatise upon the methods adopted by William Penn and his successors in granting the vast lands of Pennsylvania, illuminated by references to the decisions of the courts, and preceded by an account interesting and instructive even to laymen, of the discoveries of Cabot, of Hudson, of Lord De la Warre, and of the Dutch and Swedish settlements on the shores of the Delaware prior to the landing of Penn.

His Land Laws of Pennsylvania

He was associated with Edward Lowber, Thomas M. Pettit and George Sharswood in printing and editing an American reprint of the English common law reports, and with Lowber, John Purdon and Thomas I. Wharton in editing *The Law Library*.

Judge Sergeant was the successor of Du Ponceau as provost of the Law Academy of Philadelphia from 1844 to 1855; was a trustee of the University of Pennsylvania, a member of the American Philosophical Society, and of the New England Historic Genealogical Society.

Other Positions

He married September 14, 1812, Sarah Bache, granddaughter of Benjamin Franklin, by whom he had three sons, who died without issue, and one daughter, who in 1838, married the eldest son of Commodore Oliver Hazard Perry, of Lake Erie fame. In private life he was beloved for sincerity, for cordiality, for his gay and contagious laughter, his cheerfulness, and his uniform good temper. Learned without osten-

His Private Life

tation, fond of society and the conversation of friends, he was as much a favorite of the young as the welcome visitor of age. As Mr. Reed described him: "He was a most dignified and respectable representative of the old school of Philadelphia lawyers," but by those who selected him as our president it was known that "in the department of history his knowledge was extensive and accurate. With that of his own country, and particularly of his own State and City, he was especially familiar. Few persons could entertain so agreeably with true and life-like sketches of the men and events of the last half century."

Well then, might the members of the Society, weighing the merits of Judge Sergeant, and, hoping to escape from their desperate situation under his leadership, have exclaimed, as they placed him in the president's chair, *Nil desperandum Teucro, duce et auspice Teucro.*

CHAPTER XV

Sergeant Administration The Active Associates of President Sergeant

Job R. Tyson — Joshua Francis Fisher — William B. Reed — John Jordan, Jr.

IN reviewing the names of President Sergeant's associates, we shall confine ourselves to those who were continuously active and earned by hard work the right to be remembered. It would be unjust to them to make these pages a biographical dictionary of mere place holders. Dr. Coates of the founders alone remained active, but has been sufficiently noticed in Chapter V. Messrs. Tyson, Fisher, Reed and Jordan deserve more extended consideration than that already given. As new men arise, or modest workers quietly assert themselves or generous donors appear, we shall award them their fair meed of praise, as determined by the evidence of the minutes of the Society and the Council, the publications of the Society, and the all important Accession Books.*

Judge Sergeant's Associates in the Society

Job R. Tyson

Job Roberts Tyson was by temperament a man of affairs, and indisputably the most forceful member of the Sergeant administration. Young though he was in comparison with his official superior, he was a veteran in service. He had been recording secretary from 1829 to 1841, corresponding secretary from 1841 to 1843, and becoming a vice-president in 1843, he continued to serve as senior vice-president until 1851. His offices made him an *ex-officio* member of the Council, and he was punctilious in his attendance at all meetings, being one of those who had often waited for a quorum until all hope of such a phenomenon expired. The tedium of waiting must have

Sketch of Job R. Tyson

* Appendix A to Vol. II of this *History* will furnish complete lists of all officers who have served us, the capacities in which they served, and the dates and duration of their services. More than this cannot be attempted in a work of this character.

been beguiled by opportunities for conversation in the hall of the Philosophical Society with Vaughan, Du Ponceau and Fisher. His knowledge of our affairs was minute, and his spirit, in spite of discouragements, never seemed to flag. He was much the most philosophical and eloquent of those who addressed the Society, but there was no bombast in his speech, nor undigested morsels of history in his mind. He had a bold and far reaching intellect, yet steady in its flights, and his steadiness imparted confidence to his colleagues.

The Tyson Family He was, moreover, a thorough Pennsylvanian. The family of Tyson has many branches and numerous connections. The common ancestor was Reynier Teisen, of Holland-Dutch stock, one of the band of citizens of Crefeld within the borders of the Palatinate, who came to Philadelphia in the ship *Concord* on October 6, 1683. Reynier Teisen settled in Germantown, and was named as one of the original incorporators of that borough in Penn's charter to Germantown of August 12, 1689. In 1700, he bought land in Abington Township, Philadelphia (now Montgomery) County, and then became a leading member of the Abington Monthly Meeting, "beloved and honored to good old age," dying at eighty-six. His son, Peter, the youngest of seven sons, married Mary Roberts, daughter of Thomas and Eleanor (née Potts) Roberts of Germantown. Their son Henry was the great grandfather of the subject of this sketch.

Job Roberts Tyson was the son of Joseph Tyson who married Ann Trump, daughter of John and Hannah Trump, and was the third son in a family of nine. He was born in Philadelphia, February 8, 1803, married Eleanor Cope, the daughter of Thomas P. Cope, the celebrated merchant and philanthropist, and died June 27, 1858. Denied the blessing of children, he devoted himself to public affairs and manifested at all times the affectionate interest of a father in nurturing the growth of the Society.

Early Years of Mr. Tyson In his early years he was engaged in business, but turning his attention to public education and questions of social improvement, taught school at Hamburg, one of the most beautiful of the hill towns of the state, and also in the first public school of the state, which was established in 1822. By a course

of self-imposed study he became a proficient linguist. Later, he was a director of the public schools in Philadelphia, a member of the Prison Society, a manager of the Apprentices Library, and a leader in organizing the temperance movement in our midst.

He was admitted to the Philadelphia bar on September 28, 1827, rising rapidly in the profession until he became the solicitor for the Pennsylvania Railroad, the completion of which he had effectively secured. Successively a councilman of Philadelphia, a member of the legislature and a member of congress, he became identified with measures advancing our commercial interests and wrote illuminating reports on the Delaware breakwater, and the improvement of the navigation of our great river. For twenty-two years he was one of the vice-provosts of the Law Academy. As an author he wrote an *Essay on the Penal Law of Pennsylvania* (1827); *The Lottery System in the United States* (1833); *Social and Intellectual State of the Colony of Pennsylvania Prior to the Year 1743* (1843); *Discourse on the 200th Anniversary of the Birth of William Penn* (1844); *Letters on the Resources and Commerce of Philadelphia* (1852), and a congressional report on the Arctic explorations of Dr. Elisha K. Kane. After his death, it was found that he had collected material for a history of Pennsylvania, which unhappily he did not live to arrange.

*His Varied
Services*

Joshua Francis Fisher

The ever efficient and dependable supporter of Mr. Tyson in the affairs of the Society was his younger colleague in the Council, Joshua Francis Fisher. Conversations between the two must have been of frequent occurrence as they stood together looking out of the windows of the hall of the Philosophical Society into the State House Yard or across Fifth Street to the Library Company of Philadelphia and beyond the United States Bank to Carpenters' Hall. If the former, with honest pride, could speak of his Germantown ancestor as the companion and friend of the Op den Graeffs and Streypers in town building, the latter could retort with truth that his ancestors, John Fisher and his wife Margaret, were both pas-

*Sketch of
Joshua
Francis
Fisher*

sengers with William Penn in the *Welcome*, and had anticipated by at least two years the dignity of Reynier Teisen as a land owner.

*Ancestry
of Mr.
Fisher*

John Fisher was one of those "first purchasers" who bought city lots in the newly-granted province before leaving London, and, after his arrival, had lived in one of the historic "caves in the bank of the Delaware," which he had bought from Thomas Wynne in September, 1684. According to tradition he was of Lancashire origin, and it is probable that his wife was a Hindle of Clitheroe. A glazier by trade, he was also interested in ship building, bringing over with him from England, it is said, many artisans of whom some were ship builders. Evidently, he was a man of independent judgment, for observing that Philadelphia was far from the sea, he also bought land near Cape Henlopen as being less disadvantageous to commerce. His remote descendant preserved a paper which showed that he had served as a grand juror with the redoubted Patrick Robinson as foreman, in indicting Margaret Mattson as a witch, in March, 1683. The trial was presided over by William Penn in person, and resulted in a verdict of "Guilty of haveing the Common Fame of a Witch, but not Guilty in manner and Forme as Shee stands Endicted." Certain it is that he was a man of high spirit and courage. A contemporaneous paper shows that Fisher and Robinson both protested "against some indignity put upon them by the Court, and demanding redress or an apology." Joshua Francis Fisher, in an unpublished family memorial, states: "We have no trace of the cause of the grievance or of the result of the remonstrance. We may almost suppose my ancestor was an active mover in this extraordinary act, for we have additional evidence of his boldness in asserting what he believed his rights in another document, saved from the same source, which is in fact an indictment for treasonable words denying the authority of the Proprietor." The indictment is printed by Miss Anna Wharton Smith in her *Genealogy of the Fisher Family* (Philadelphia, 1896), and charges John Fisher with "having wickedly and maliciously defamed Reproached and denied the King's authority and legislative Power of the Governor, The Provincial Counsell and General

Assembly of this Province to the great prejudice and danger of the same." On this, his descendant comments: "Whether his contemporaries condemned him as a wrong-headed troublesome fellow, or admired his manly vindication of public liberty and private conscience, we may at least find some indication of the wilfulness of action and independence of thought which has been rather characteristic of his descendants to the present day."

Joshua Francis Fisher, the direct descendant in the sixth generation from this turbulent ancestor, was born February 17, 1807, and died January 21, 1873. He served the Society as corresponding secretary from 1836 to 1840, as a councillor from 1842 to 1848, as a vice-president from 1848 to 1855, again as a councillor from 1855 to 1860, and again as a vice-president from 1860 to 1865.

*Joshua
Francis
Fisher's
Services
to the
Society*

A graduate of Harvard in 1825, a student of law under Joseph R. Ingersoll, admitted to the Philadelphia bar October 20, 1829, but never practicing, he became a member of the Society in 1827, and in the flush of youthful and generous ardor contributed to Volumes II, III and IV of the *Memoirs* those documents and addresses which we have reviewed in Chapter VIII as emanating from him. Through his close social and domestic relations with families identified with the early history of Pennsylvania he was enabled all through his long years of membership to enrich the collections of the Society with original documents of interest, and when these could not be obtained, he spared no pains in transcribing them with his own hand, or in having them copied. His modesty shrank from the publication of letters relating to the family history of his ancestors, and these still sleep in manuscript. May we not hope that they will, in a not too remote future, be given to the world?

Although for the most part "along the cool sequestered vale of life" he "kept the noiseless tenor of" his "way," yet his warm interest in the instruction of the blind led him to become one of the incorporators of our Pennsylvania institution, the second of its kind in America, and to report his conclusions as to the best course of instruction after he had studied European methods during three foreign tours. Though holding no

His Advocacy of Reforms in Government public office, he was a student—and a careful one—of the representative system. He had conversed with De Tocqueville, and was an early advocate of minority representation, publishing pamphlets on the plan of Mr. Hare of England for cumulative voting. He ventured boldly into a field then largely open in papers entitled *Degradation of our Representative System*, *Reform in our Municipal Elections* and *Nomination of Candidates* all of which awakened attention, and, later, provoked discussion.

William B. Reed

William Bradford Reed The third member of the small but active group which bore the burdens of the Sergeant administration was William Bradford Reed, who represented, on the paternal side, more particularly the period of the Revolution than that of Colonial days. The first in line to attract the attention of the genealogist according to that accomplished expert, Frank Willing Leach, was Andrew Reed, a merchant and an iron master of Trenton, New Jersey, who, after serving as postmaster, a commissioner of the loan office, a burgess and a judge, prior to 1749, removed to Philadelphia, subsequently returning to Trenton. His second son, Joseph, by Theodosia Bowes, a second wife, was born in Trenton, August 27, 1741. Graduating from the College of New Jersey, at the early age of sixteen, he studied law for three years under the direction of Richard Stockton, and then sought to broaden and strengthen his legal education by entering the Middle Temple, as "an American Templar of the ante Blackstone period." * A resident in Garden Court during his

Sketch of Joseph Reed, Grandfather of William B. Reed

* In selecting the Middle Temple, young Reed but followed the examples set by four Chief Justices of Pennsylvania, Allen, Chew, Shippen and McKean; one Associate Justice, Jasper Yeates; five signers of the Declaration of Independence, Thomas Heyward, Jr., Thomas Lynch, Jr., Thomas McKean, Arthur Middleton and Edward Rutledge; four framers of the Constitution of the United States, John Dickinson, Jared Ingersoll and the two Pinckneys; three leaders of the Philadelphia bar, Nicholas Waln, Edward Tilghman and William Rawle, our first president. Recurring to far earlier days, it will be recalled that Andrew Hamilton, the brightest legal luminary of his day in all the colonies, had in 1713-14 entered Gray's Inn, nor should it be forgotten that William Penn himself was for two years a student in Lincoln's Inn. It was equally the fashion in other colonies, except New England, to send their sons to the Inns of Court; five Livingstons of New

student days, his expenditures included perquisites to the doorkeepers of the House of Lords and of the Court of King's Bench, to enable him to hear the argument of cases, as well as a fee for a private key to the Temple gardens. He paid frequent visits to the House of Commons and there heard the elder Pitt, Burke, and Sheridan in those agitated days.

His life—a short one of but forty-three years—was of restless and varied activity. Admitted to the Philadelphia bar in October, 1765, he began practice in Trenton, serving as deputy-secretary of New Jersey in 1767. He sought his wife in 1770, in England, Esther De Berdt, the daughter of Dennis De Berdt, the agent for Massachusetts, and, returning to Philadelphia, rose so rapidly that, in 1774, John Adams, then attending the first Continental Congress, wrote of him, "Jo. Reed is at the head of his profession." The next year saw him as military secretary to Washington. At the same time he was chosen a member of the Continental Congress and of the Committee of Safety. In January, 1776, he was a member of the Assembly. In June, he became adjutant general of the Continental army. Refusing an appointment of brigadier general and also that of first chief justice of Pennsylvania under the constitution of 1776, he preferred service as an aide-de-camp of Washington, serving at the battles of Brandywine, Germantown and Monmouth. For three years, from 1778 to 1781, he was president of the supreme executive council of Pennsylvania, and brought the charges of mal-administration and corruption against Benedict Arnold while the latter was military commandant of Philadelphia. He spurned a bribe of £10,000, offered by a peace commissioner of the British government, with the memorable words, of which the papers of the day were full, "I am not worth purchasing, but such as I am, the King of Great Britain is not rich enough to do it."

York; the very great Daniel Dulany of Maryland; Carter Braxton, Peyton Randolph and Arthur Lee of Virginia; Drayton, Laurens, and the Rutledges of South Carolina were among the many. It is convincing proof of the source whence so many of our Revolutionary statesmen, essayists and pamphleteers drew their knowledge and their love of the common law as the birthright of Americans. *American Members of the Inns of Court* by E. Alfred Jones, M.A., with a foreword by Hon. William H. Taft, Chief Justice of the United States and Honorary Bencher of the Middle Temple, London, 1924.

Surviving by five years his wife, who died in her thirty-fourth year, he failed rapidly in health and sank beneath his sorrow, death cutting short his brilliant career in 1785.

We have given unusual consideration to the grandfather of one of our members solely because the writing of his life, and its vindication against the detraction and the assaults of Bancroft and John C. Hamilton, by his grandson William B. Reed, constituted the outstanding biographical achievement of the day. *The Reed Controversy*,* as it was known, began in 1847 and did not end until 1876. The conclusion redounded finally to the honor of Joseph Reed and his share in the military history of the Revolution. Through its exposition and defence by one of the most rarely gifted of Pennsylvania's sons both in literature and history, one whose efforts in support of this Society, at a time when help was needed, were of incalculable value.

Joseph Reed, Jr., prothonotary of our supreme court, city solicitor of Philadelphia and attorney general of Pennsylvania, became, by his marriage with Maria Ellis Watmough, daughter of James H. Watmough, the father of William Bradford Reed, who was born June 30, 1806.

The Talents and Varied Ability of William B. Reed Great as were the talents of Tyson they were matched by those of his associate Reed, and so far as the charm, longevity, variety and breadth of scholarship of their respective productions were concerned the latter far excelled. It is not too much to say that in peculiar flavor, delicacy, adroitness, and quivering strength the writings of Reed, had he devoted himself exclusively to literature, would not have suffered in comparison with the best of English and American writers. Even his forensic oratory was distinctive. One sample will suffice. When district attorney of Philadelphia, he opened his reply to the argument of a verbose, immethodical, rhetorical, but omnivorously learned opponent, with these words: "Gentlemen of the Jury: For three weary days, with unsandaled feet have we been compelled to tread upon the broken bottles of Judge Parsons' rhetoric."

Mr. Reed's career may be briefly told. Graduating from the Liberal Arts department of the University of Pennsylvania

* See *post*, Chapter XVII.

in 1822, his legal studies were interrupted by a visit to Mexico as private secretary to the United States minister, Joel R. Poinsett, who introduced to our green-houses the beautiful plant named in his honor, poinsettia. On his return young Reed was admitted to the Philadelphia bar, November 26, 1826. In 1833, he became attorney general of Pennsylvania under Governor Wolf, serving but a year. From 1836 to 1841 he was the Philadelphia County solicitor, and district attorney from 1851 to 1856. In the meantime—1850—he was chosen professor of American history in his alma mater. In 1857, he became minister to China and negotiated the important treaty of June, 1858, that "secured to the United States all the advantages acquired by the allies from the Chinese." In the early sixties he removed to New York writing for the *New York World* the choicest of literary essays, which were collected and published in 1871 in a dainty volume now rare, bearing, as we are told in the introduction, "accidentally the same title as one of Mr. Lowell's productions," *Among My Books*. The author confesses that when in age he "freshened dim memories of familiar books, he became entangled in vague fascinations," and produced "a slender bundle of literary egotisms." The reader, if he be so fortunate as to possess a copy, cannot but admit their subtle, exquisite charm.

*Sketch of
William B.
Reed*

His most important historical work, and his contributions to the literature of this Society will appear as we progress with our narrative. His official service was but slight, as recording secretary in 1828-29, and in 1849-50, as a vice-president.

John Jordan, Jr.

We must needs mention a fourth man, John Jordan, Jr., one of those modest but indispensable patrons who at critical times prove to be the main stay of struggling institutions. The late Townsend Ward—of whom hereafter—tersely put it: "John Jordan, Jr. was not only the treasurer but the treasury of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania." To appreciate the full force of this tribute, it must be added that he never actually held the office of treasurer. Our seventh president, Brinton Cox, Esq., said of him: "Mr. Jordan was the guard-

*John
Jordan, Jr.*

ian and father of this Society, and, as such, I was one of those nearest to him. When he and I sat in our respective places, on opposite sides of the table in the north-room, our relations seemed more like those of a father and son conferring upon the management of a family than those of two officials administering a public institution."

His Conception of the Society

These suggestive tributes, while just and true, give but an imperfect idea of the character of the man. The extent of his munificence will appear as these pages progress, but that which must be emphasized was his conception of what the Society should stand for. His breadth of view, expansive from the beginning and ever-broadening through his fifty years of active membership—from 1840 to 1890—was based upon his conviction that the Society should collect material for the history of *Pennsylvania*, and not for that of a part of it. He knew that it was a complex problem, presenting difficulties encountered in no other state. Our racial and sectarian differences, existing no where else as insistent and colliding original elements, had to be justly and tolerantly considered and fused before a composite result could be reached. To establish the Society on solid and broad foundations required a strong representative membership to conduct investigations of every sort. The peculiar need was not so much for numerous students as for a variety of investigators with independent points of view. The aim was not to foster antagonisms by provoking competitive exploitation, nor to encourage narrow pride in the illustration of special contributions to our material, spiritual and political growth, but to insure, by collecting material from many diverse sources, the final confluence of civilizing influences, just as rivers meet in the sea. As one who knew him well put it: "*The necessity of the Historical Society being what the history of Pennsylvania demanded that it should be, was the key of Mr. Jordan's devotion to it.*"

His Quiet but Effective Influence

It is, at first blush, strange that an unobtrusive, gentle, unpretending, undemonstrative, near-sighted man, far from robust, and never making addresses or contributing essays of his own composition, should entertain such views and wield such power as to persuade his colleagues to adopt them. The explanation is to be found in his blood. In his veins were com-

mingled drops drawn from French Huguenot, German, English, Welsh, and Scots-Irish ancestors, a mingling of courage, of manliness, of a love of liberty of thought and speech and action, and of sturdy adherence to principle.

An early paternal ancestor had left France for Germany, after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. His grandson came to Pennsylvania in 1738, removing to Mt. Pleasant, Hunterdon County, New Jersey. His son, Frederick, born in 1744, married Catherine Eckel of Bucks County, Pennsylvania, a daughter of Henry Eckel, a native of Hannau, Germany, and saw service at Yorktown, as a sergeant in the New Jersey line. He became a prosperous farmer and mill owner. His son, John, after losing both father and mother before he had attained the age of sixteen, came from the New Jersey homestead to Philadelphia, and entered the counting-house of the well known merchant and philanthropist, Godfrey Haga, to whose business, with his fellow clerk, Boller, he succeeded, under the well-known name of Jordan and Boller. He married Elizabeth, the daughter of Judge William Henry of Northampton County, whose father was of Scots-Irish and Welsh descent, harking back on the mother's side to Bevan of Wales of the most ancient Cymric stock.* This John Jordan, Sr., born in 1770, and living until 1845, was the father, by his wife Elizabeth (née Henry), of the subject of this sketch, who was born in Philadelphia, May 18, 1808, and was known all his life, even when eighty years old, as John Jordan, Jr.

*Ancestry of
John
Jordan, Jr.*

The lad received his earliest education at the school of Peter Widders on Front Street, near Arch. His studies in the classics and mathematics were guided by Dr. James P. Espy, the author of a treatise on the *Philosophy of Storms*. His teacher described him in a letter as "a bright and interesting pupil." In 1826, he entered the University of Pennsylvania, but his frail health and impaired sight compelled his retirement in his Junior year. Among his classmates was Dr. Joseph Carson—the father of the present writer—who, becoming a member in January, 1847, was himself a councillor of the

*His
Education*

* A biographical sketch of William Henry is printed in *Penna. Mag. of Hist. & Biog.*, XXVII, 91, with a portrait after Benjamin West, the original being owned by this Society.

Society from 1858 to 1876. Young Jordan's summers were spent at Nazareth, where he had relatives on his mother's side, his maternal grandfather having become attached to the Moravian church at Nazareth.

Greatly improved in health, in early manhood he joined an uncle in the manufacture of bar iron, near Stroudsburg, Pa., later removing to the Oxford furnace, near Belvidere, N. J. Discouraged by frequent changes in the tariff, he became a partner in the house founded by Godfrey Haga, then conducted by his father and brothers, trading as Jordan and Boller. In 1847, he became president of the Manufacturers and Merchants Bank, and had much to do with the establishment of what is now known as the Clearing House Association. For thirty-two years he held this post "with care, fidelity, good judgment and success." In 1852 he became an incorporator of the North Pennsylvania Railroad, and long maintained his interest in its affairs.

*His Official
Positions*

*His Unob-
trusive Aid
in Upbuild-
ing the
Common-
wealth*

This quiet man had his share in the upbuilding of the commonwealth, although his modesty would have disclaimed it. By projecting a railroad from Philadelphia to Bethlehem through the beautiful and fertile region endeared to him by early associations, he brought the agricultural and iron industries into contact with coal. He and his associates consolidated our mineral wealth with the vast deposits of slate and cement encircling the iron hills of Lebanon which in turn rose above the spreading corn and wheat fields of the counties of Montgomery, Bucks and Northampton. His was the genius of coordination, manifested alike in banking and in railroad building, and happily to be exerted in our behalf by assembling and urging cooperation upon the eager tillers of the rich soil of the history of Pennsylvania. Moravian and Quaker, Presbyterian and Lutheran, Episcopalian and Catholic, Methodist and Baptist, Dunker and Schwenkfelder could work side by side to a common end in elucidating the broad principles of Penn, for young Jordan had taken to heart the words of Andrew Hamilton in vacating the speaker's chair, in 1737: memorable words, which embodied both history and prophecy.*

* It is not to the fertility of our soil, and the commodiousness of our rivers, that we ought chiefly to attribute the great progress this province has

John Jordan, Jr., married April 3, 1834, Jane Bell, daughter of James and Susanna (née Thomas) Bell, but childless, as was Stephen Girard, he adopted this Society and other public interests as the objects of his paternal care. He served as a councillor from 1842 to 1846; 1848 to 1859; 1863 to 1890; as corresponding secretary, 1846 to 1849; 1874 to 1880; as recording secretary, 1859 to 1869; and as vice-president, 1876 to 1890.

His Services to the Society

On November 24, 1890, the Council, on motion of Mr. Coxe, authorized Judge Mitchell, Mr. Baker and Mr. Coxe to arrange for the painting of a portrait of Mr. Jordan by Bernhard Uhle, a talented but dilatory artist.* Years passed without results. On February 27, 1899, William H. Jordan presented to the Society a portrait by Jessie Sartell Wilson. On January 25, 1915—twenty-five years having passed—President Pennypacker exhibited the receipt of Mr. Uhle of that date and announced the delivery of the picture.†

made within so small a compass of years, in improvements, wealth, trade and navigation; and the extraordinary increase of people who have been drawn here from almost every country in Europe. A progress which much more ancient settlements on the main of America cannot, at the present, boast of. No.

It is principally, and almost wholly, owing to the excellency of our Constitution, under which we enjoy a greater share of civil and religious liberty than any of our neighbors. . . . It is our great happiness . . . we have no officers but what are necessary; none but what earn their salaries, and those generally are either elected by the people, or appointed by their representatives. . . . By many years experience, we find an equality among religious societies, without distinguishing any one sect with greater privileges than another, is the most effectual method to discourage hypocrisy, promote the practice of the moral virtues, and prevent the plagues and mischiefs that always attend religious squabbling.

This is our Constitution, . . . framed by the wisdom of Mr. Penn . . . whose charter of privileges to the inhabitants of Pennsylvania will ever remain a monument of his benevolence to mankind, and reflect more lasting honour on his descendants than the largest possessions. . . . Our own interests should oblige us carefully to support the government . . . as the only means to secure to ourselves and posterity the enjoyments of those privileges, and the blessings flowing from such a Constitution, under which we cannot fail of being happy if the fault be not our own.

* Minutes of the Council Nov. 24, 1890.

† *Ibid.*, Jan. 29, 1915.

CHAPTER XVI

Sergeant Administration The Work of the Associates

Successive Homes of the Society — The Seal of the Society — The Bulletin — Contents of The Bulletin — An Important Circular — Catalogue of the Papers in the English State Paper Office Relating to Pennsylvania and Delaware — Collections of the Society — Printing of the Colonial Records Resumed — The Pennsylvania Archives

*Active
Members
of the
Society*

WE TURN to the work accomplished by the four thoroughly sympathetic and energetic friends. They were assisted by Daniel J. Desmond, who had done much to resuscitate the Society at the crisis of its sinking spell, who was for several years the corresponding secretary; by the learned Edward Armstrong, especially saturated with a knowledge of colonial records, who was the recording secretary; and by Samuel Hazard, the accurate and painstaking annalist, the curator. A Virginian by birth, later the very eminent Philadelphia jurist, M. Russell Thayer, was not at the time overburdened as treasurer, having received from his predecessor a balance of \$2.71. Several new names appeared at the Council Board—William Duane, Edward D. Ingraham, W. Parker Foulke, James H. Castle, Charles A. Poulson, Jr., P. Pemberton Morris, and J. Sontag Havilland.

*Removal of
the Society
to 115
South Sixth
Street*

A new era had opened, illustrated by events of significance. The first of these was the *removal of the Society into new quarters*. By obtaining a separate room all its own, hopes long entertained and so frequently frustrated were fulfilled. On April 22, 1844, there was rented the southeast room in the second story of the building No. 115 (recently No. 211) South Sixth Street, below Walnut, then belonging to the Pennsylvania Life Insurance Company. Soon afterward a lamp was bought for the head of the stairs leading to "the new hall," as it was proudly termed. The successful committee was further "empowered . . . to procure a Book-case of size sufficient to hold the collection of Books &c., a carpet, table, chairs & other

necessary furniture & to put the room in a proper state for being occupied, provided that the cost did not exceed one hundred dollars."

A contemporaneous entry on the minutes of the Council discloses the prompting of this bold act, in recording the payment to the treasurer of the Du Ponceau legacy of \$200. A removal of the *Lares et Penates* of the Society took place, but alas! the committee found that the cost exceeded the authorized expenditure, and resort was had to a strenuous effort to collect outstanding dues and to obtain subscriptions to the book-case fund, the latter list being headed by a characteristic contribution of Mr. Jordan. For some reason not stated the new room proved to be unsatisfactory. It may be conjectured from the following direction dated "Oct. 25, 1847. The Committee on Hall presented a bill of 63 cents for candles &c which was ordered paid & the Committee were discharged" that the room was darkness itself.

In 1845, the Mercantile Library Company was erecting its building on Fifth Street at the corner of Library, and an effort was made to secure a room in its third story. In February, the matter went so far as to secure an offer from the Library Company "to accommodate the Society with a room 20 feet by 36 for \$150 per annum," but was not proceeded with, owing to the remark of Mr. Havilland, that the Athenaeum was purchasing a lot for the purpose of erecting a building in which the Society could perhaps be better accommodated. In May, 1846, on motion of Mr. Parrish, a more ambitious attempt was made. A conference took place with the owner of the "Norris House," Miss Mary Norris Dickinson, the unmarried daughter of John Dickinson, "penman of the Revolution," as Bancroft called him, to "ascertain if she would consent to sell the same if this Society could provide a purchaser pledged to its perpetual preservation." The effort was unsuccessful.* In November, 1845, Councillors Foulke, Reed and

*Attempt to
Secure the
"Norris
House"*

* "The Norris House" was so called because it had been bought in 1709 by Isaac Norris, Sr., the father of Isaac Norris, Jr., speaker of the Colonial assembly of Pennsylvania, whose granddaughter, Mary, had married John Dickinson. It was better known as "The Slate Roof House," built on Second Street below Chestnut by Samuel Carpenter in 1683-5, and occupied by William Penn in 1700, becoming the birth-place of his son, John Penn—"the

Correspondence with the Athenaeum as to Quarters Jordan were commissioned to confer with the directors of the Athenaeum "to ascertain whether and upon what terms a room in their new building could be obtained for the Historical Society." In the following February the committee was given "full power to take order upon the subject." Evidently, the Athenaeum was anxious to secure the Society as a tenant, for, with a liberality unprecedented on the part of a landlord towards a prospective but poor tenant, it made a loan of one-fourth of its funds for four years without interest upon the execution and delivery of our corporate bond. Thereupon, in December, 1846, on motion of Mr. Jordan the librarian, C. A. Poulson, Jr., whose office had been created in May, 1845 was "instructed to collect by requisition and take in charge all the manuscripts and curiosities belonging to the Society with a view to the anticipated removal to the Athenaeum building." This language indicates plainly that the precious possessions of the Society, which, according to the Accession Book, had been accumulating rapidly for several years, were widely dispersed in many hands and called for mobilization.

The Assembling of Possessions of the Society

First Meeting in the Athenaeum Building

In May, 1847, it became necessary, in order to meet the inevitable expenses of removal and a considerable outlay for furniture, to instruct the treasurer to collect all outstanding dues, some of them shockingly in arrears, and to set them aside in a distinct fund. Mr. Thayer acted with diligence, as appears from his report at the next meeting of the Society, which showed that he had collected \$426.02, had paid all bills, and had a balance in hand of \$64.10. Finally, on November 22, 1847, the minutes announce, "The Council met this evening for the first time in their New Hall, Athenaeum Building," which was to be their home for twenty-five years.

Doubtless, the Council now felt strongly entrenched, for an effort, made in the preceding May, to amend the constitution by expunging the clause creating that body, and merging its executive powers in the Society at large, which was to meet monthly instead of quarterly, had been lost by the casting vote of Judge Pettit, vice-president, in the chair. The Athenaeum

American"—the only one of the family born in America. It was sold in 1703 by Carpenter to William Trent, after whom Trenton was named, and Trent sold it to the elder Norris.

was greatly pleased to have the Society as a tenant. In his address on the opening of the new hall of the Athenaeum, October 18, 1847, Thomas I. Wharton, who was, it will be remembered, one of the founders, referred to it in a passage which is of value, because it epitomizes societary history, and is descriptive of conditions within his personal knowledge:

One of the apartments, immediately over us, is to be occupied by the Historical Society; kindred, in some measure, in purpose with ours. This valuable Institution, known to, or at least duly appreciated by, I am afraid, only a small portion of our community, has been in existence for about twenty-two years; and although suffering from penury, both in numbers and in purse, it has done great service to the history and character of our Commonwealth, by the valuable contributions which have enriched its Transactions; by the republication of scarce tracts; and by the collection and preservation of pamphlets, which might otherwise have perished. The fact that this valuable Society is very inadequately supported; that its narrow income, barely sufficient for the most economical disbursements, is derived exclusively from the small annual contributions of its members, most of them young men and professional persons of very moderate means; that it has no endowments and no capital fund; is, I regret to say, any thing but creditable to Philadelphia.

Dr. Wharton's Epitome of the History of the Society

As the Athenaeum and the Historical Society had both been sheltered at the same time under the hospitable roof of the American Philosophical Society, and both had removed at practically the same time to the new home, Mr. Wharton, in speaking for the former, may be regarded as speaking for the latter:

After nearly thirty years spent in those cool and quiet, though rather insufficient rooms,

opening upon that old fashioned square, the classic ground of the Revolution, fruitful of recollections and productive of incidents of present interest, I do not wonder, for my part, that a certain degree of attachment has sprung up for the place, and that a certain regret is felt at quitting it. . . . Then, if we have lost one open square, we have gained another of greater dimensions, and more various foliage and attractions; and if we have lost sight of the Hall of Independence, and the disciples of Themis, we have also left the Mayor's Office, and the 'Black Maria,' the 'genius loci,' and the sights and sounds and smells of that congregation of vice and misery, which came, or rather was brought every morning to pay its devotions in a temple almost in contact with the newspaper room.

*Physical
Surround-
ings of the
New Hall
of the
Society*

The site occupied by the new, and still existing, Athenaeum building, formed a part of a considerable piece of ground, the northern portion of which, fronting on Walnut Street at the corner of Sixth—now the splendid home of the Penn Mutual Life Insurance Company—had been occupied as the prison house and prison yard of criminals and convicts, known as the Walnut Street Prison. The southern, or Prune (now Locust) Street portion—now occupied by the publishing house of J. B. Lippincott Company—was used for the safe keeping of persons imprisoned for debt or other civil delinquencies. Mr. Wharton, speaking from personal recollections of conditions within his knowledge, and with the vivid words of an eye witness, thus graphically described the former features of the new home:

Crime and poverty, then, were the tenants of the two apartments, separated by a court yard, of the gloomy tenement which then occupied this space. Crime either languished in what was called solitary confinement, dark, idle, and uninstructed, or was set to labour in a common and noisy work-shop, the chief business of which was

sawing stone; the most frequent, because the simplest of employments. Poverty dragged through the tedious day, without occupation or resources, until the regular return of the insolvent court operated as a general jail delivery, clearing the tenants for the time being; whose places were soon supplied by a fresh swarm, to be in their turn swept away. . . .

Imprisonment for *debt*, properly speaking, is now [1842] wholly abolished with us. . . .

Nor, at the time I speak of, was the western prospect from this lot much more cheering or picturesque than the appearance of the lot itself. What is now the Washington Square; planted with beautiful trees; rejoicing in almost perpetual verdure; animated and enlivened by the presence of the lovely and the gentle, by the voice of infancy and childhood in the midst of enjoyment, by the song of birds, as happy and innocent as themselves, was then a place of graves and silence and desolation, popularly and traditionally called 'The Potter's Field'; overgrown with weeds and brambles; a place where the dead bodies of strangers and outlaws were shovelled into the ground, without a stone to serve as a memorial of their wanderings or crimes; and with only here and there a humble attempt at distinction by means of a wooden memorial, or 'even those bones from insult to protect' by some frail effort at a paling or enclosure.*

* The prison and its debtor's department, in which Robert Morris was for four years confined, 1798-1802, was visited by the Reverend Manasseh Cutler of Massachusetts in July, 1787, and is described in his diary as follows: "It is very long and high, I believe, four stories, and built of stone. The building itself, which is elegant, would appear well, were it not for its unsavory contents. Your ears are constantly insulted with their Billingsgate language, or your feelings wounded with their pitiful complaints. Their long reed poles, with a little cap of cloth at the end, are constantly extended over into the Mall, in order to receive your charity, which they are incessantly begging. And if you refuse them, they load you with the most foul and horrid imprecations. In short, whatever part of the Mall you are in, this cage of unclean birds is constantly in your view, and their doleful cries attacking your ears."

*The Seal of
the Society*

Passing from the encouraging establishment of the Society in its new home, with a greatly enlarged space and an exclusive tenancy provocative of further growth, the secretaries realized that for twenty years business and correspondence had been conducted without a corporate seal. The subject had been agitated under the Du Ponceau administration in October, 1841, but had been dropped. It was reintroduced to the attention of the Council on February 24, 1845, by Mr. Armstrong, the recording secretary, who moved that "a committee be appointed to procure a proper seal for the corresponding secretary with a device for the same & that an electrotpe copy be furnished to the recording secretary." On a substituted motion of Mr. Foulke, it was "resolved that the said committee take into consideration the expediency of procuring a corporate seal with a device for the same." The matter was entrusted to the secretaries, Armstrong and Desmond, and to councillors Fisher and Havilland.

It is perplexing to find no report on the subject, and no further reference to it in the minutes until May 13, 1850, when the entry reads: "A device of a seal for the Society embracing a quartering of the arms of Sweden, Holland, the Province & the Commonwealth was presented by the Rec Secretary [Mr. Armstrong] and on motion referred to a select Committee to be reported upon at the next meeting of the Society." J. Francis Fisher, William Duane and Edward Armstrong were entrusted with the task, but no trace of Mr. Armstrong's ambitious effort to combine so many separate arms can be found. A year's delay ensued.

In May, 1851, the committee reported that "they recommend to the Society to use as a seal the device contained upon the cards of meetings of the present year." A running debate took place, participated in by councillors Fisher, Jones, Northrop and Dr. Coates. The subject was then tabled, on motion of Mr. Foulke, and there, so far as the record runs, it still sleeps. In view of the complete disappearance of the cards used in 1851, this is not enlightening, but fortunately the deputy recording secretary, Henry A. Sims, was prudent enough to paste into his minute "a copy of the device" re-

ferred to. Fortunately also, for the purpose of further identification of what was then in use, although unauthorized, there is to be found on the title page of *A Brief Description of New York, Formerly Called New Netherlands*, printed and published by the Society in 1845, as the first number of its *Bulletin*, an exact facsimile of Mr. Sims' copy. There is also on the title page of the first and only volume of the *Bulletin*, as printed in 1848, a generally similar device, lacking only the motto, and the interior scroll work. The variation simply indicates that there was in 1848 no device agreed upon as to details. The committee in its report of 1851, as is proved by the entire similarity in all details between the "copy" preserved by Mr. Sims and the imprint on the first number of the *Bulletin* of 1845, evidently preferred to restore the motto and the scroll work, thus rejecting the variations of 1848. They must also have rejected the device presented by Mr. Armstrong in 1850, for the arms of Sweden and of Holland do not appear. That which was recommended was a combination of the obverse of the Great Seal of William Penn, in its later form, which was for a time the seal of the province, with a part of the arms of Pennsylvania as a commonwealth. The result was a circular disc, carrying on the margin, or circumferential band, the words: *Historical Society of Pennsylvania*, with a single star between each word, and two stars below; in the centre a shield, divided into six equal compartments, the left hand quarterings being the arms of Penn consisting of a crescent in chief, a fess or band, bearing three torteaux or biscuit, crossing horizontally in the centre, and in base a field argent; the right hand quarterings being taken from the arms of the commonwealth—a ship in full sail, in chief, a plough in the centre, and in base three sheaves of wheat. Encircling the shield, as an inner circumferential, there is scroll work, unrolled above and below so as to carry the motto "Mercy—Justice."

Mr. Sims'
Copy of the
Device

The Seal
a Combination of the
Arms of
Penn with
those of
the Commonwealth

Comparing the device, as recommended, with impressions of the seal now in use, and which has been in use for more than fifty years upon certificates of membership, resolutions,

and official communications, we find that the sole difference lies in the single omission of the crescent.*

A determined effort was made to revive the publications of the Society by the establishment of a *Bulletin*. Part I of Volume IV of the *Memoirs* of the Society had appeared in 1840, and has been already reviewed in Chapter VIII. As there stated, Part II did not appear until 1850. During the interim a single volume, with a title page printed in 1848, but consisting of successive parts or numbers, issued quarterly during 1845, 1846, 1847, was published entitled *The Bulletin of The Historical Society of Pennsylvania*. The thought was suggested by Dr. Alfred L. Elwyn, who had been a councillor since 1837, and was favorably impressed by the form and contents of the *Bulletin* then issued by the Academy of Natural Sciences, recording its accessions and giving information to members of the proceedings of its officers. The Council took action on December 23, 1844, by appointing a committee to consider the expediency of such an undertaking and to ascertain whether a sufficient number of subscribers could be procured to support it.

The Bulletin of the Society

Meeting with encouragement, it was on January 27, 1845, "Resolved, That a Bulletin be issued quarterly by this Society, or oftener, if the amount of the subscriptions to the same should warrant it. And that the said Bulletin contain such portions of the minutes as it may be deemed expedient to publish and such papers of historical interest, as from their brevity would be better suited for publication in a Bulletin than in the *Memoirs*." A committee of five, of which the president, Judge Sergeant, was the chairman, was appointed to superintend the publication.

The work was prosecuted for three years, and was furnished to members at forty cents a part or half volume. The

* The utter failure of the minutes to disclose any motion to take the report of the committee of 1851 from the table, leads to the conclusion that the tabling motion of Mr. Foulke was forgotten, and that long usage led to silent acquiescence in the device unmistakably used on the *Bulletin* of 1845. The reader will find instructive information in the profusely illustrated texts of the brochures *The Arms of Pennsylvania and the Great Seal of the Commonwealth* by William H. Egle, and *The Seal and Arms of Pennsylvania* by James E. Pilcher.

first number was issued in March, 1845, and the final one in September, 1847. The present day reader of these *Bulletins* will be surprised at the extent and character of the donations to the Society there recorded, and can trace the rapid growth of the Library in the space of three years. The most important of these accessions will be noticed in due course.* These *Bulletins*, averaging from seven to ten pages each, were gathered at the end of the period, enlarged and enriched by special historical papers paged independently, and published in 1848 as a single volume of 271 pages with the title page bearing the device already described.

*The Con-
tents of the
Bulletin*

Some of the papers were of lasting value. Such was: *A Brief Description of New York Formerly Called New Netherlands*, by Daniel Denton, London, 1670, being the first account in English of the country now divided into New York and New Jersey, drawn up before the division was even promulgated. It is one of the rarest items in the *Bibliotheca Americana*, and the text, from which this Society's publication was made, was taken from a transcript of the copy in the British Museum. Meusel refers to it as "*Liber rarissimus videtur.*"

Other papers were: "The Journal of Isaac Senter," surgeon during Arnold's expedition to Quebec, a document full of thrilling incidents described with animation; "Account of the Battle of Brandywine," accompanied by a map, by Joseph Townsend, an eye witness; "Papers relating to the Battle of Brandywine," with plates; "Letters from Major John Clark, Jr., to General Washington during the occupation of Philadelphia by the British Army," involving much hazard to the writer; "Remarks upon the Traditions &c., of the Indians of North America," by the Rev. John Ettwein, a Moravian missionary, whose manuscript was found by Jared Sparks among the papers of Washington; letters from Robert Morris to John Hancock, in 1776; "Minutes of the Committee of Safety of Northumberland County, Pennsylvania," in 1776 and 1777; "A True Relation of the Flourishing State of Pennsylvania," by John Holme, the earliest metrical composition written in Pennsylvania, and then for the first time printed; "Memo-

*The Con-
tents of the
Bulletin
Continued*

* It is interesting to compare the contents of the *Bulletin* with the suggestions of Mr. Du Ponceau, *ante*, Chapter XII.

randum of the Names and Significations given by the Lenni Lenape to the Rivers and Streams of Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Maryland and Virginia," from the papers of the Rev. John Heckewelder; and finally, Colonel Allen McLane's account of a "Visit to Washington, 1814," embracing events in and about the capital leading to its capture, the author being the celebrated "rough rider" of the Revolution.

Despite the intrinsic excellence and interesting contents of the *Bulletin*, and the small cost to members, there was a deficit reported by the Treasurer, and the publication was abandoned as not self-sustaining. For two and a half years the Society was without an articulate organ of expression. The pressure of matter which had accumulated in the meantime, and was rapidly increasing in bulk, soon became too strong to be restrained, and found an outlet in Part II of Volume IV of the *Memoirs*, published in 1850. The large number of manuscripts awaiting publication were the result of a circular distributed extensively through the state in the early part of 1845 with the aid of postmasters and citizens of local reputation, calling for information concerning the first settlements of counties, townships, and the early settlers; the history of old or remarkable buildings as told by aged persons; the possession of papers of historical or local interest, inclusive of judicial opinions, accounts of trials, civil and criminal, sermons, maps, newspapers, drawings, portraits, biographies; genealogical tables, and grave-stone inscriptions, autograph letters, ancient ballads, orderly books, journals, or revolutionary tales and songs. The circular, consisting of numerous specific interrogatories, like a modern questionnaire, was arranged under fifteen separate headings and rivalled an old fashioned Bill of Discovery with its searching formulae. It closed with an earnest entreaty to all persons to prevent the loss of letters or documents which had a bearing, either important or trivial, upon the history of our state or country.

The Circular of 1845

Responses

The responses were encouraging. Dr. Pennypacker, the father of our ninth president, permitted members of this Society to copy his manuscript history, in two volumes, of Schuylkill Township, Chester County; B. Stokely, the first actual resident settler of Mercer County, sent, through James

Mease, M.D., "Remarks and General Observations"; Messrs. Huidekoper of Crawford, McCalmont of Venango, Robinson of Erie, and Baker of Beaver contributed incidents from the early days of their respective counties; Lewis H. Weiss translated from the original German "The Description of Pennsylvania" by Francis Daniel Pastorius, a task twice assigned to others without result; while William Parker Foulke presented notes respecting the Indians of Lancaster County, which are still of interest to those exploring our aboriginal history.

Much the most important feature of Part II of Volume IV of the *Memoirs* is the "Catalogue of Papers Relating to Pennsylvania and Delaware Deposited at the State Paper Office in London." Its value cannot be overstated. Its 154 pages of text, descriptive of every public document from March 10, 1670, to December 10, 1718, affecting the relations of the Crown and of the Lords of Trade to Penn's government, should be made the basis of all serious study of our institutional origins. Therein, the philosophical investigator, who craves knowledge of the character and exact sequence of documents which reveal the process of growth, can trace the cautious steps taken by the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations, with the aid of Sir Joseph Werden, and the Attorney General, Sir Robert Sawyer, in acting on Penn's petition for a Patent from the Crown, after full notice to His Royal Highness, the Duke of York, and to Lord Baltimore. Therein he can learn how, with infinite pains to avoid collisions, Lord Chief Justice North settled the boundaries of Pennsylvania, and how, after various drafts, the great Charter of Charles II to William Penn was presented for his Majesty's approbation. Therein, he can follow month by month and year by year the disputes between Penn and Lord Baltimore over boundaries; the disputes over Penn's obtaining the grant of Delaware Bay; the difficulties arising from the enforcement of the Navigation Act and the law against pirates; the wrangles over rebels transported for servants; the removal of Penn from his government by the Crown; the commission to Fletcher, Governor of New York, to take the Province of Pennsylvania under his government; the difficulties with the French, and the reluctance of Pennsylvania to assist New York in resisting them; the petition of

*Important
"Catalogue
of the
Papers Re-
lating to
Pennsyl-
vania and
Delaware
in the State
Paper Office
in London"*

*Contents
of the
Catalogue*

Penn to be restored to his government; his restoration, and the revocation of Fletcher's commission; the commission by Penn to Markham, and the Markham Frame of Government of 1696; the address of the Assembly to Penn in 1701 requesting changes in their charter and Penn's reply; the laws forwarded from time to time for the royal approval or veto; the troublesome activities of David Lloyd, and so the story runs until 1718, when Penn passed from life at the age of seventy-four.

*Its Uses
for the
Historian*

Almost every ten pages of this "Catalogue" suggest a topic for a separate chapter in the history of our relations to the Crown and to our neighboring colonies. From its nature it does not touch on our domestic troubles, the unending conflicts between the deputy governors and the Assembly, and the internal affairs of the province, but as a *conspectus* of our foreign relations in Penn's day it stands unmatched by any publication of the Society.

The compilation of the "Catalogue" was the work of experts, and occupied several years. It was no easy task to collect every material and historically interesting paper pertaining to Penn's colonies and separate them from the vast mass which had been transmitted by the Board of Trade in 1842 to the State Paper Office, but no pains were spared to make the search as perfect as possible. The assurance is given by V. Fr. Kuczynski of Westminster, that "every document which was sent to or received from either of the two colonies, was carefully noted—even such correspondence as led to the issue of some circular letters or new regulations from England, were noticed with equal care." Also the length of each document was defined by the number of folios affixed thereto, each folio consisting of seventy-two words. Years later, in 1895, the Society undertook to secure authentic copies of many of these most important papers from the English Public Record Office, and thus converted this precious "Catalogue" into a partial index to our present possession of the certified volumes of the Journals of the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations.*

In 1846 it was ascertained that there existed such a body of material available for the elucidation of our early history, and that copies might be obtained on favorable terms. The

* For a full account see Vol. II of this *History*, Chapter VIII.

first step was to procure a catalogue of such papers, and the expense was met by subscriptions by many of our members, aided by a few liberal outsiders. The original manuscript of the "Catalogue," so happily in the possession of this Society since July, 1847, is beautifully executed upon drawing paper, being an admirable illustration of the perfection of English documentary work. Had the Sergeant administration accomplished nothing else than the preparation and printing of this catalogue, it would have sufficed for its dignity and usefulness. It is strange that it should be so little known, and so frequently neglected. Perhaps the word *catalogue* and its formidable size have had a repellent effect, but he who can appreciate the value of such a compilation as a guide through a tangled territory will recall with pleasure the words of the author of *Joineriana*: "Books, to judicious readers are useful to particular arts and professions absolutely necessary—to men of real science they are tools."

The Manuscript of the Catalogue

The next publication attempted by the Society was a volume of 426 pages, published in 1853, under the title of *Collections of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania*. Evidently it was intended to start a new series, for it bears the designation "Volume I." The title was misleading and was abandoned for a resumption of the *Memoirs*. It contains no description of the *Collections* of the Society as that word would now be generally understood. It presented, from manuscripts then in hand, forty-five papers, the most important of which related to Conrad Weiser, to the experiments of Fitch and Fulton with steam navigation, to notes on the private character of Washington, to extracts from the records of the courts held in Germantown from 1691 to 1707; to the western insurrection, to Indian utensils and implements recently discovered near the Pennepack, and to the removal of the county seat from Chester to West Chester, which was accompanied by scenes of violence and siege terminating in unbounded hilarity. These papers and their like were deemed worthy of publication as containing the *nugae historicae* of the Society, as Dr. William Darlington of West Chester called them.

Publication of Collections of the Society

A few months before the manuscript "Catalogue" of the London state papers was received, the Society obtained

*Acquisition
of English
Records*

through the intercession of the Honorable Louis McLane, the American minister to St. James, sixty volumes published by the British government illustrative of English history, including the reports of the Record Commissioners, calendars of Patent Rolls, of the charters in the Tower, the Exchequer Kalendars, records of fines in the reigns of Henry III and King John, material compiled and edited by those painstaking and accurate historiographers, Sir Francis Palgrave and Thomas Duffus Hardy, to whose labors all serious students of English constitutional institutions are deeply in debt.

*Memorial
to the
Legislature*

Stimulated by these important accessions, and in emulation of what our brothers across the sea had done and were doing, the Council in January, 1845, resolved that the vice-presidents of the Society, Pettit, Tyson, Rawle, Jr., and Elwyn—there being at that time no president—be a committee to memorialize the legislature as soon as practicable with reference to the unpublished portion of the provincial minutes down to the period of the Revolution. In November, 1846, William B. Reed brought the matter before the Society itself by offering a similar resolution, and Reed, Rawle, Jr., and Edward D. Ingraham were entrusted with the task. Again in February, 1847, Townsend Ward obtained a resolution that a petition signed by the president and vice-presidents be sent to the legislature "soliciting them to order [that] the publication of the Colonial Records be resumed." The effort was renewed in May, 1848, and again in 1850. It was not until 1851, however, that these urgencies were successful. It would appear from a resolution adopted in May of that year, that the thanks of the Society were specially due to Edward Armstrong, the Recording Secretary "for his zealous efforts in promoting the passage of the recent law."

*The Print-
ing of the
Provincial
Minutes*

The Act of February 15, 1851, P. L. 72, provided for the continuation of the printing of the minutes of the proprietary government and council of safety, down to the adoption of the constitution of 1790, from the point at which the three volumes of the *Colonial Records*, printed in 1837, 1838 and 1840, as stated in Chapter VIII, terminated; each volume was to be of the same shape and style as that already adopted, and to contain not less than eight hundred pages. There were to be

fifteen hundred copies of each volume, and two hundred copies were to be distributed by the governor among the learned societies, of which the Historical Society was to receive five. Provision was made also by the same Act for a like printing and distribution of original documents, letters, treaties and other papers preserved in the Secretary's office prior in date to the treaty of peace of 1783, to be known as *Pennsylvania Archives*.

The *Colonial Records*, including a reprinting of the first three volumes, which had become scarce, ran into sixteen volumes, and the *Archives* ran into twelve volumes. This monumental work, aggregating twenty-eight volumes, was indexed in 1860, by a fellow member—Samuel Hazard, the annalist. In effect, he performed a service for us similar to that of Sir Francis Palgrave, or Mr. Hardy, in editing the English records and rolls. Mr. Hazard's index not only revealed the treasures hidden in our early domestic documents, but opened up safe passages through the maze, and brought raw material into the hands of our historians, for which they might have sought many weary months in vain.

In the obtaining of the sixty volumes of British archives and records from London, and of the catalogue of the papers covering the relations of Penn's colonies to the Crown, followed by the publication of our *Colonial Records* and *Pennsylvania Archives*, the Sergeant administration laid the broad and deep foundations for all subsequent study. It is apparent that these acquisitions are so related to each other as to form parts, in logical, chronological and historical succession, of any philosophical study of the evolution of that system of government known as Anglo-American. Truly, Dean Swift was apt in writing: "We live with other men, and to other men; neither with, nor to ourselves. We may sometimes be at home, left to ourselves; but we have no commerce, or conversation with the world that does not tell on them, as they are all the while influencing us."

*The Colo-
nial Records*

*Work of
the Ser-
geant Ad-
ministration*

CHAPTER XVII

Sergeant Administration Activities of the Closing Years

Ingersoll's History of the War of 1812 — Reed's Life of Joseph Reed — Hazard's Annals of Pennsylvania — Braddock's Expedition — Growth of the Library — Lectures — Accessions — The Shippen Papers — The Wampum Belt — Visit of Granville John Penn — Journeys and Dinners of the Society — Amendment to the Constitution Limiting the Term of the President — Death of Sergeant

The Minutes of the Society Disclose Activity

THE Minutes of the Society and of the Council during the Sergeant administration are in strong contrast with those of the preceding periods. No longer did they exhibit the lack of a quorum, or a lack of business. They furnish gratifying evidence of a steadily increasing membership; of a surprising generosity on the part of donors of books, manuscripts, maps, documents, pictures and curios; of an enlargement of the series of subjects for the action of committees, and of a classification of the details of duties assigned to each committee.

Appointment of Special Committees

In addition to the ten committees, so admirably planned by President Rawle, there were now committees on heraldry, numismatics, fine arts, autographs, geography and topography, architecture and ethnography. The recent appearance of William Hepworth Dixon's *William Penn an Historical Biography*, with an extra chapter on "the Macaulay Charges," stimulated further inquiries into the life, character and family of the Founder; into the causes and incidents of the settlement of Pennsylvania under Penn, and of the settlement of Pennsylvania by Europeans prior to the arrival of Penn. These were broadened to include inquiries into the discoveries from the earliest times, the national origins of settlers, causes of emigration, places and incidents of settlement; Indian history, languages and remains; the boundaries of Pennsylvania and purchases from the Indians; and the progress of the frontier. There were inquiries into the civil and political aspects of the Colonial period; into the causes, events, persons and conse-

quences of the Revolution; into the civil and political history of Pennsylvania as a state, and of the War of 1812 with special reference to Pennsylvania; into the growth of internal improvements, the development of geology and mineral resources, agriculture, manufactures, commerce, banking, currency and finance; into the history of education, libraries, literature, the fine arts; jurisprudence, and juridical history; religious history, medical history; charitable institutions, public and private; and finally into the civil and political history of the United States.

The fruits were shown in various ways. Essays, addresses, *The Results* and ephemeral pamphlets were numerous, but graver works were undertaken by our members as individual enterprises, although their authors were proud to display on their title pages the words "Member of The Historical Society of Pennsylvania" as proof of their scholarship. Several of these works have survived in volumes eagerly consulted by students who are not content with modern redactions. We can notice only the most important.

The first was the *Historical Sketch of the Second War between the United States of America, and Great Britain*, in three volumes (1845) by Charles J. Ingersoll, who was one of the nineteen charter members of the Society, and, for a time, a councillor. He brought to his task the knowledge acquired by him as a member of Congress during the entire period of the War of 1812. The second work was *Life and Correspondence of Joseph Reed*, in two volumes (1847) by William B. Reed, his grandson.* The work was characterized by Chancellor Kent as "a most interesting and admirable history of one of the ablest and purest of patriots of the Revolution . . . written with the greatest dignity and truth." John Sergeant, John C. Calhoun, Jared Sparks, and even Bancroft, the historian, were loud spoken in its praise. Twenty years later, Mr. Bancroft changed his views and made a violent attack. A bitter controversy ensued, producing essays, replies, rejoinders and sur-rejoinders, known as "The Reed Controversy," the fires of which burned fiercely for years. After Mr. Reed's death,

*Ingersoll's
History of
the War of
1812*

*Reed's Life
of Joseph
Reed*

* For sketches of Joseph Reed and William B. Reed, see *ante*, Chapter XV.

*Bancroft's
Errors
Corrected*

William S. Stryker, the well remembered Adjutant General of New Jersey, and an ardent historical investigator, discovered papers among the archives of his state which, when called to Mr. Bancroft's attention in 1876, caused him to acknowledge his error. And in the last revision of his monumental history, published in 1882, Bancroft omitted the stinging epithets and charges of disloyalty which had so justly angered our fellow member and disturbed his aging years. Would that the discovery had been made earlier. As Colton wisely says: "It is almost as difficult to make a man unlearn his errors as his knowledge. Mal-information is more hopeless than non-information; for error is always more busy than ignorance." Suffice it to say that Bancroft's error was like that of Macaulay as to Penn. He had mistaken a Charles Read of New Jersey for Joseph Reed of Pennsylvania, as the Stryker discovery establishes incontestably.*

Then came the *Annals of Pennsylvania from the Discovery of the Delaware*, by Samuel Hazard, in one volume of 665 pages (1850), a work which every one who would learn of events in the exact order of their sequence, from the days of Hudson to those of Penn, will find to be invaluable. The author served us as curator from 1829 to 1847, and presented to the Society his original manuscript. This was followed by *The History of an Expedition against Fort Du Quesne, in 1755; under Major-General Edward Braddock*, edited from the original manuscripts by Winthrop Sargent, who later crowned his fame by his *Life of Major John André*.

*Hazard's
Annals and
Braddock's
Expedition*

Such was the importance and general interest of "Braddock's expedition" in its bearing upon the general history of the French and Indian wars, which culminated in the capture of Quebec by Wolfe in 1760, and such was the excellence of Mr. Winthrop Sargent's performance that his work marks an epoch in the literary annals of the Society. The book was based on three journals sleeping on the shelves of the Public Record Office in London, copies of which were procured for us by the Hon. Joseph R. Ingersoll, our fifth president, during

* The reader will find a satisfactory discussion and final disposition of the matter in a note prepared by the late Frederick D. Stone, in "Notes and Queries," *Penna. Mag. of Hist. and Biog.*, I, 114-15.

his official residence at London as the American minister. The expedition had been styled by Jared Sparks as "one of the most remarkable events in American history," but not until Winthrop Sargent told the story, had it been formally and circumstantially related.

*Publication
by the
Society of
Braddock's
Expedition*

This volume of more than 400 pages, a noble large octavo, of handsome type and handsome illustrations, accompanied by plans of the battle field and maps of the line of march, was published by the Society in 1855 as Volume V of the *Memoirs*, thus restoring the title which had been used for the Society's publications until interrupted by the *Bulletin* and *Collections*. At that time the new volume was the most ambitious of our undertakings. The expense was far beyond the slender income of the Society, but was met by the sale at cost of 200 copies to subscribers to the Publication Fund.

*Volume V
of the
Memoirs*

That fund, which has ever since sustained the burden of our various publications, had its origin in the following Preamble and Resolutions submitted by Townsend Ward, in February, 1854:

*The Origin
of the
Publication
Fund*

Whereas, the publications by the Society, notwithstanding the valuable matter they contain, are a heavy drain upon its funds, and are unsatisfactory in their form because of their liability to loss; and it being desirable to secure a permanent efficiency in the mode of preserving the materials of history; be it—

Resolved, That any person, member or other, who shall pay to the Treasurer the sum of Twenty dollars for that purpose, shall be, during his life; entitled to one copy of each book or other matter published by the Society, subsequent to the date of contribution.

Resolved, That the Treasurer open an account under the head of Publication Fund, in which shall be entered all payments for this object, and contributions thereto, as also the sums received from time to time from the sale of the Society's Publications.

Resolved, That the payments and contributions to the Publication Fund be invested at convenient times in good securities, and that the interest accruing thereon, be the only money from that fund to be used in the expenses of publication.

Mr. Ward addressed himself with vigor to the task of securing subscriptions. In view of the difficulties the treasurers had experienced in collecting membership dues, his success was surprising. In April, 1854, the Publication Fund contained \$1,000; by December it amounted to \$4,100. In the following April, it had grown to \$5,140, and by April, 1856, it had reached a total of \$10,800.

*The
Growth
of the
Library*

Another indication of the improved condition of the Society was furnished by the growth of the library. At the time of the removal, in 1844, from the old home in the building of the American Philosophical Society to the rooms at 211 South Sixth Street, the librarian reported "about sixty books and some unopened boxes of public documents," a small result indeed for twenty years of work, but explained this as due to the cramped position so long endured, while the Society had no quarters exclusively its own. After the second removal to the "New Hall" in the Athenaeum building, the librarian, in February, 1849, reported 1761 volumes, divided into ten classes, history, biography, manuscripts, pamphlets, periodicals, voyages and travels, newspapers, public documents of Pennsylvania, public documents of the United States, and miscellaneous. At the same time a catalogue was printed, consisting of 36 octavo pages. Those interested in the minutiae of our growth will find it instructive.*

Librarians

By this time it was evident that the charge of the library was becoming a matter calling for special care and attention. The first occupant of the office, which was created in 1835, was Charles A. Poulson who served from 1835 to 1848. He was succeeded by William Duane, who served but a year, to be followed by Sidney V. Smith, 1849-1851, then by Henry A. Sims, who retired in 1852 to be succeeded by Townsend Ward who

* See *post*.

had been designated in September, 1851, as the fittest man for the place. The service had been uncompensated, and the duties comparatively light. They were now becoming onerous.

At a stated meeting of the Society, December 13, 1852, Judge Sharswood being in the chair, Mr. Tyson moved the appointment of a committee of three to consider the expediency of constituting a resident librarian with prescribed duties and a fixed salary. Within a month, he presented for himself and his colleagues, Duane and Jordan, a report which stated the situation with such particularity as to justify quotation:

That upon conferring together . . . they came to the conclusion that a Librarian with an enlarged sphere of duty and a fixed salary will be found of great importance to this Society.

*Report of
Special
Committee
on the
Library*

There are several branches of duty which would devolve upon such an officer, a knowledge of American historical bibliography would enable him to know the precise deficiencies of our collection and to take intelligent means to supply them. He would have opportunities of learning where books, documents, and manuscripts connected with the past history of the state and country are deposited and may be had either by purchase or donation. Many valuable MSS. are to be found in private hands liable to loss or mutilation which a mere application might place within our reach.

Much of the current literature of the country is issued in the pamphlet form. These pamphlets so far as they relate to our history should be rescued from oblivion by being collected, classified and bound together in substantial and carefully labelled volumes.

In combination with these duties it would fall to the lot of a paid librarian to report to the society at the regular meetings all books and otherwise [*sic*] received by him for the Library

and to return the acknowledgments of the society to donors in every case of donation whether at home or abroad. In this way he will become the medium of communication with the Society in all matters relating to the donation of books or manuscripts.

It is of special importance that an officer should be in regular attendance at the library to whom information can be imparted respecting the books and who can give all desirable information in return. We are of the opinion that the Hall should be kept open in that the Library may be accessible during certain hours of the day, say from 10 A.M. to 1 P.M., and from 3 to 5 P.M. The salary of the Librarian should be at least \$300 per annum.

*State of
the Library
in 1854*

Resolutions in conformity with the report were submitted, and adopted. The energetic Townsend Ward was elected Librarian. In 1854, he reported "three thousand five hundred volumes, with a large collection of important manuscripts, bound in 100 volumes, and the formation of a gallery, consisting of portraits of persons eminent in our annals, and views of scenes in the State of historic interest, indicating that the Society had become the centre of organized efforts to perpetuate and illustrate the perishing records of the past, and promising to become an interesting and valuable source of attraction to the citizens generally." Among the generous donors to our shelves were John Jordan, Jr., James J. Barclay, Job R. Tyson, William B. Reed, William Duane, Jacob Gratz, W. Parker Foulke, Thomas Bradford, James H. Castle, Samuel B. Ashmead, and Henry D. Gilpin.

*Donors to
the Society*

*The
Cresson
Bequest*

Then came, in March, 1854, the first substantial bequest to the general funds of the Society—the legacy of Elliott Cresson amounting to \$10,000.

The membership, too, had grown satisfactorily. The sinking spell of 1838 had carried it down to 24 contributors and 59 corresponding members. The figures rallied in 1846 to 162 contributing members; in 1850 to 290 contributors; in 1854 to

402 contributors, and in 1856 to 530. No longer was the Society but a small club of young enthusiasts, encouraged by the presence of a few grey heads, but a growing body carrying on its rolls the names of those eminent as business men, merchants, lawyers, judges, physicians, bankers, manufacturers, druggists, publishers, book-sellers and writers. Its corresponding members were to be found in twelve counties in the state, and its honorary members were men interested in history in fourteen states, as well as in England, France, Sweden, Denmark, Germany, Austria, Italy and Brazil.

*Growth of
Member-
ship*

The book containing lists of the accessions furnishes further and confirmatory evidence of growth. During the Rawle administration—1825 to 1836—the lists occupied nine pages, folio; during the Du Ponceau administration—1837 to 1844—seven pages; during the Sergeant administration—1845 to 1858—one hundred and thirty-three pages. The lists embraced books, pamphlets, newspapers, gazettes, journals, documents, deeds, treaties, broadsides, manuscripts, letters, maps, surveys, genealogies, tracts—controversial, political, economic, social, agricultural, statistical—Indian relics, medals, coins, curios, engravings, and paintings. All these were gifts and not purchases, and the donors, over fifty per centum of whom were not members of the Society, exceeded three hundred in number. This is persuasive proof of active sympathy with our aims on the part of the public.

*Review of
Accessions*

The public activities of the Society were notable. In September, 1849, Ward, Jordan and Foulke, as a committee, arranged a series of lectures. Within two years addresses had been delivered by Duane, Reed, Breck, C. J. Ingersoll, Armstrong and Foulke of our members, and by Bishop Alonzo Potter, Professor Henry Reed, the Reverend William Bacon Stevens, Dr. R. M. Bird, the author of *Nick of the Woods*, the Honorable Brantz Mayer, our minister to Mexico, the Honorable John H. B. Latrobe, of Baltimore, who contributed to the history of Mason and Dixon's Line, and Rembrandt Peale, who discoursed upon his various portraits of Washington. The most effective in its consequences was the celebrated address of the Honorable Edward Everett upon Washington, delivered at the instance of the Society on April 4, 1856, at

*Activities of
the Society*

Musical Fund Hall, for the benefit of the fund for the purchase of Mount Vernon, netting the sum of \$786.57; repeated, also at the instance of this Society, at the Academy of Music, February 4, 1858; netting the sum of \$1,020.37 for the same purpose. In the words of President Pennypacker, in his address at the opening of the present fireproof building in 1910, "Do not permit the important part which you took in that work of national historic significance to be forgotten."

*Act for
Registration of
Marriages,
Births and
Deaths
Secured by
the Society*

The Society is also to be credited with having been instrumental in securing the passage of an Act requiring the registration of marriages, births and deaths. It required years of effort before the legislature could be brought to a realization of the importance and value of such a measure. As far back as December, 1838, Joshua Francis Fisher had emphasized the historical significance of inscriptions upon gravestones. In March, 1847, Edward Armstrong, the recording secretary, announced that he had in view the preparation of a genealogical history of families who may have established themselves in Pennsylvania, Delaware and Maryland prior to the year 1800. Later he extended his thought to the importance of securing for the future authentic data as to marriages, births, and deaths, and brought the matter before the Council. Two years later, in February, 1849, Horatio Gates Jones, who had become active as a member, secured the passage of a resolution "That the President of the Society be requested to present a communication to our legislature expressing the wishes of the Society in favor of the passage of the Bill, now before that body, requiring the registration of marriages, births and deaths." Legislative action was tardy, but the Society during the next decade agitated the question no less than three times. Finally, the Act of March 8, 1860, was secured, which is still in force as a part of our statutory regulations of vital statistics.

*Memorial
to the
Legislature
as to
Portraits
of the
Governors*

The Society presented to the legislature in 1853 a memorial urging the advisability of procuring for the state the portraits of the governors of the commonwealth from the adoption of the constitution of 1790 to the then present time. Meeting with but a languid reception, the pressure of influence was applied. The Honorable Jeremiah S. Black, Henry M. Phillips and Richard Vaux were appointed a committee in April, 1856, to

press the matter, and within a month they were able to report that they had obtained the insertion of the necessary clause in the general appropriation bill for the year.

The Society, in April, 1858, presented a memorial to the Secretary of State of the United States, representing the great value of the *American Archives* as edited by Peter Force, and that it would be conducive to the public interest, and meet with public favor to continue the publication. They also encouraged Pennsylvania authorship by recommending to the citizens of Philadelphia and the state, as worthy of their patronage, Hazard's *Annals*, "a work exhibiting much laborious and valuable historical information." Mr. Reed went further, and in a public address declared that the work would always be, with his *Register of Pennsylvania*, "a monument of the author's singular industry and accuracy. No other State in this Union can boast of anything like it. It is essential, as I have some slight means of knowing, to the public man—to all who have occasion to learn anything of Pennsylvania or her affairs. In days of obtrusive sciolism, it is pleasant to have a chance of praising modest merit." *

Force's Archives and Hazard's Annals

The generosity of distinguished artists must not be overlooked. We have already told how we acquired the portraits we possess of Presidents Rawle, Du Ponceau and Sergeant. In January, 1852, J. R. Lambdin presented portraits of governors McKean and Pettit, and later portraits of John Dickinson and Isaac Norris. In November, Paul Weber presented his oil painting of Braddock's battle field, executed from a sketch made by him on the spot. In November, 1855, Thomas Sully made a copy of Gilbert Stuart's Washington from the original in the possession of Wesley P. Hunt, Esq., of Trenton, N. J., and presented it to the Society. At the same time Mr. Lambdin painted and presented portraits of governors Wolf and Ritner. Thereupon all three artists were made life members, and their names were placed upon the list of those entitled to receive the publications of the Society. Previously twenty-nine members had jointly presented the portrait of James Hamilton by Cogswell after West; the portrait of Andrew Hamilton by

The Generosity of Artists to the Society

* It is appropriate to mention in this connection that Samuel Hazard served as our curator from 1829 to 1847.

Cogswell after Wertmüller; and the portrait of James Logan by Cogswell after Lambdin's copy.*

Two accessions of importance, acquired during the Sergeant administration, deserve special notice, because they are representative of the character of the material fast accumulating, aside from the steady flow of books, detached letters and documents of interest and of value.

*The Shippen
Papers*

The first of these was the Shippen Papers. The librarian of more than twenty-eight years ago, Frederick D. Stone, once remarked, in an address before the Genealogical Society: "I have a friend—the friend of many here—whose hand I never take without thinking how much of colonial history he represents through his name of Shippen." The American founder of the family was Edward Shippen, born in 1639, in Yorkshire, England, emigrating to Boston in 1668, but removing two years later, because of Puritan persecution, to Philadelphia where he died in 1712 at the age of seventy-three.† A man of great wealth and high character, he was elected Speaker of the Assembly in 1695, and was named by William Penn in the Charter of October 25, 1701, as the first mayor of the city of Philadelphia. His "fine orchards, delightful gardens, and Great House" on the bank of Dock Creek were described by Gabriel Thomas in his account of Pennsylvania, published in London in 1698. His descendants were numerous, and included such men of consequence as Edward Shippen of Lancaster, the founder of Shippensburg, Colonel Joseph Shippen of military renown in the days of the province, Chief Justice Shippen, the successor of Thomas McKean, and Dr. William Shippen, the leading anatomist of his day.

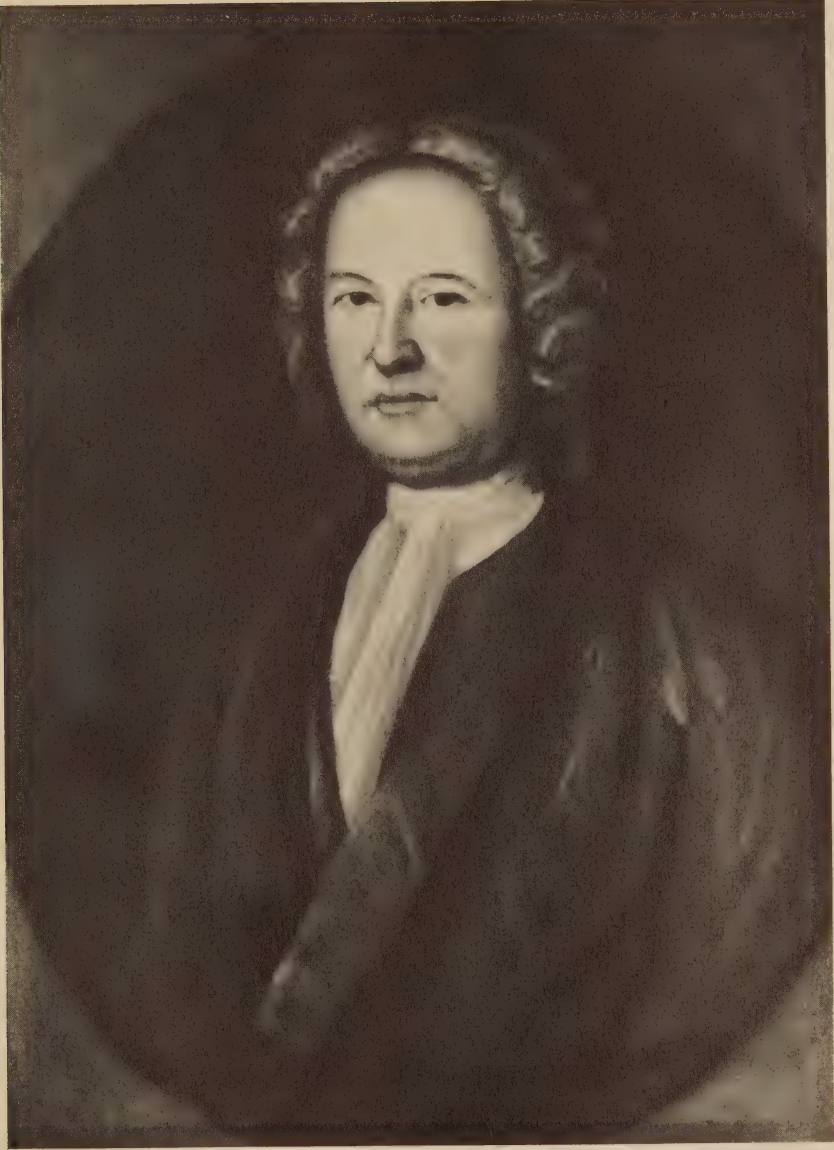
*Edward
Shippen*

*Family
Connections*

These men and their sons and daughters married into leading families, the Storrs, the Allens, the Burds, the Willings, the Binghamms, the Swifts, the Fishers, the Norrisses, the Powells, the Griffiths, the McIlvaines, the Gilpins, the Yeates, the McCalls, the Huidekopers of Pennsylvania, the Byrds of Virginia, the Francis, Galloway and Tilghman families of

* The names of the donors are given in Accession Book, Vol. I, p. 69.

† See "The English Ancestors of the Shippen Family and Edward Shippen, of Philadelphia," by Thomas Willing Balch. *Penna. Mag. of Hist. & Biog.*, XXVIII, 385.



James Logan, 1674-1751
Scholar, friend of William Penn, and Secretary of the Province
Portrait by Gustavus Hesselius

Maryland, and the Livingston family of New York. Their English connections were numerous and influential. William Shippen, the Jacobite leader, was written of by Pope as "the downright Shippen," and was praised by Burke as "the patriot." John Jekyll, the brother of Sir Joseph Jekyll, Master of the Rolls and Secretary of State to Queen Anne, married the daughter of the first mayor of Philadelphia; Chief Justice Shippen married the daughter of Tench Francis, who was closely related to the celebrated Sir Philip Francis, the reputed Junius, while the son of Lord Chief Justice Willes, married Anne Shippen, a niece of the famous Jacobite.

Such were the families whose members more or less contributed to the Shippen Papers. The collection fills forty-five folio volumes upon our shelves, well mounted and strongly bound, consisting of more than twelve thousand pieces. There are eight volumes of general correspondence from 1701 to 1821; four volumes of family letters, Shippen-Burd, from 1746-1856; the military letter book of Joseph Shippen, 1756-58; the journal of Joseph Shippen, 1758; account book of Joseph Shippen, 1768-1775; letter book of Colonel James Burd, 1756-58; two volumes of military papers from 1755 to 1795; one supplementary volume, 1711 to 1846; Edward Burd's notes on law—a legal common place book, 1756-69; twelve volumes, legal and business, 1721 to 1826, six or more of which are in the handwritings of Chief Justice Shippen and Justice Jasper Yeates; three volumes of surveys, 1827-1855; two volumes of bills and receipts from 1721 to 1824; one volume relating to the estate of Governor John Penn; one volume of the letters of Ann Penn and Lord Lansdowne, and one volume of miscellaneous matter.

*The Shippen
Collection
of Papers*

The earlier part of this notable collection which has been enlarged to sixty volumes, came into the possession of the Society, according to the minute book, in December, 1849, largely through the intercession of William Duane, and Edward Armstrong, to whom, in April, had been assigned the task of procuring them from a "gentleman living near the Gap in Lancaster County." The donor was doubtless Edward Shippen, as his name is credited with the first gifts, particularly with the journal and military papers of Colonel Joseph Shippen. In

*Its Extent
and Value*

June, 1853, Townsend Ward informed the Society that a number of papers of Chief Justice Shippen were in the possession of Mr. Thomas Balch, one of our members, and on motion of Edward Armstrong it was resolved that Mr. Balch be requested to edit them for publication in the *Collections* of the Society.

Edition of Shippen Papers by Thomas Balch Mr. Balch was singularly well equipped for the task. A Virginian by birth, he had studied at Columbia College, read law in New York, was admitted to the Philadelphia bar in 1850, and was the first alumnus of the Law School of the University of Pennsylvania as re-established by Judge George Sharswood. He served in our city councils, and often presided over important committees. His literary abilities were notable. One fact stands to his lasting honor. In a letter addressed to Horace Greeley, which was published in the *Tribune* of May 13, 1865, he proposed a court of international arbitration as a measure of averting war. In it was laid down an outline of rules, which in substance were observed, in later days, by the Geneva tribunal. His zest in editing the Shippen Papers was enhanced by his marriage in 1852 to Emily Swift, daughter of Joseph Swift, who had married the daughter of George Willing, a descendant of the original Edward Shippen.

Mr. Balch's Work In 1855, Mr. Balch privately printed a volume entitled *Letters and Papers relating chiefly to the Provincial History of Pennsylvania with some Notices of the Writers*. In his preface he stated that he began his duty in compliance with the request of this Society, but that in the course of its execution, other materials were tendered to him, consisting in part of the "Shippen Mss." in the archives of the Society, and in part of masses of letters, accounts and other papers in the possession of descendants of the family. These he sifted with care in the hope of adding something to the stores of the future historian. He added most important genealogical notices of the families whose members had, more or less, contributed to the correspondence. These notices throw light, to use the accomplished editor's own words, upon "the habits, manners and actions of these people; how they bore themselves in the

trying situations in which many of them were placed; what was their behavior when duties clashed, or when duty conflicted with affection, for it will be seen that of the same family some were Whigs and others Loyalists; what was their social intercourse; what their individual peculiarities; how their joys were tempered and their griefs assuaged; how they lived, and loved, and died." In November, 1855, Mr. Balch presented a copy of his completed work to the Society. Many years later an indefatigable member, Charles R. Hildeburn, collected during his life time hundreds of engraved portraits, and autograph documents for the illustration of the Shippen Papers. Very recently these have been secured by the Society from the widow of Mr. Hildeburn, the purchase having been made, most appropriately, by the Emily Swift Balch Fund.

The Hildeburn Collection of Illustrations for the Shippen Papers

The next important accession is one of the jewels in our cabinet of curios. Its value, historically and sentimentally, cannot be overestimated. It marked the continued interest of the descendants of William Penn in our welfare, and was an additional proof, if any were needed, of the extraordinary liberality and public spirit that actuated the successive gifts by the Penns to this Society. Granville Penn, the grandson of the Founder, had given us the Armor Portrait, the ring containing the hair of his ancestor, and had urged the gift of the blue sash worn at the time of the treaty beneath the elm at Shackamaxon.* It remained for Granville John Penn, a great grandson, to crown these gracious acts by the gift of the wampum belt.

Granville John Penn had visited the Hall of the Society on January 12, 1852, and inscribed his name upon the Minute Book. He had been formally introduced to the Society by the chairman of a special committee appointed to wait upon him, and was addressed by the president. Evidently, he cherished agreeable recollections of his visit, for a little more than five years later—at a stated meeting held April 13, 1859—he again visited us and in person presented to the Society the belt of wampum as "a valuable historic document," and furnished proofs of its authenticity.

The Wampum Belt

* *Ante*, Chapter IX,

Its Presentation to the Society by Granville John Penn Suitable arrangements for so remarkable an occasion were made. Dr. George W. Norris, and J. Dickinson Logan, Richard Penn Lardner, William Shippen, Jr., John Jay Smith and Israel Pemberton were in charge of the ceremony. President Sergeant regretted that he was "disabled from being present at the reception of the Belt of Wampum, which Mr. Penn intends to present to our Society, and that I shall lose the opportunity of uniting in thanks to him for so valuable and welcome a proof of his care and attention on our behalf. . . . The spirit which animated William Penn long survived in his descendants, and still continues, notwithstanding the separation that the course of events ultimately produced. It is matter of congratulation that this spirit has prevailed to preserve for us from the tooth of time a most interesting relic, connected with the earliest infancy of our colonization."

Letters in Acknowledgment Several other letters were read. Ex-President Martin Van Buren saw in the presentation of the wampum belt "an incident of more than common interest. While it secures to Pennsylvania an historical monument of peculiar value, it preserves also the rude, but voluntary, and most expressive symbol of the early confidence of the natives in that great and good man, which all his subsequent intercourse with them served to verify; and it exhibits, at the same time, his own noble resolution, taken at the outset, and never departed from, to found his Commonwealth 'on deeds of peace.'" Charles Miner, of Wilkes-Barré, our then senior vice-president, pleading extreme age, wrote: "If Sir Walter Scott did not err in almost adoring the regalia of the Scottish Kings, surely we may keep and cherish this 'relic' with as sincere and more rational devotion." The venerable Samuel Breck wrote: "The Belt now to be entrusted to us was the pledge of fidelity to a treaty of friendship. . . . It is the token of extraordinary loyalty and honesty by both contracting parties, and is to come from the hand of a lineal descendant of the great founder of Pennsylvania—a happy circumstance which adds very much to the relevancy, beauty and fitness of the occasion."

Mr. Penn, after presentation by Mr. Shippen, addressed Vice-President Henry D. Gilpin, who rose to receive him and remained standing throughout a speech which must have occu-

pied more than half an hour. Mr. Gilpin's eloquent reply must have lasted an hour. The proceedings are printed in full in Volume VI of the *Memoirs*, accompanied by a handsomely colored facsimile of the belt, corresponding in length and breadth with the original. As the full text of these admirable addresses is readily accessible to our readers we shall quote but a few salient passages.

Mr. Penn, in opening, said:

It is now upwards of five years since I first had the honour of being introduced to the Historical Society; and the kind and cordial reception I then met with, will never be effaced from my memory. . . . On leaving England at the commencement of the present year, to revisit Pennsylvania, I brought out with me a very interesting and valuable record belonging to our family, to present to your Society, as the fittest depositary for a document of so much historical interest. In doing which, I am only following the footsteps of my late revered father, and acting in accordance with his expressed desire, that I should carry on the correspondence he had so long held with the Historical Society, in whose proceedings he took the most lively interest, and contribute in any way it might be in my power to the furtherance of the important object they have in view.

He then gave a history of the belt and of its long and unbroken possession by the family; an exact description of the belt itself and an interpretation of its meaning as sustained by Indian customs in the use of wampum. He recited the proofs of its authenticity, quoting Indian tributes to the goodness of Penn on the occasions of subsequent treaties with his deputies. He gave a detailed account of the diplomatic circumstances leading up to the great treaty of 1682, with an account of the treaty itself so far as ascertainable. His closing words were these:

*The Presentation
Speech of
Mr. Penn*

*History of
The
Wampum
Belt*

The official document given by William Penn to the Indians, according to Clarkson, being a roll of parchment, on which were inscribed the terms and conditions of the treaty; which, after its contents had been explained to them by the interpreter, 'he took up and presented to the chief sachem, and desired him and the other sachems to preserve it carefully for three generations, that their children might know what had passed between them, just as if he had remained to repeat it.' That given by the Indians, in ratification of the treaty, being according to their national custom, the broad belt of peace, with the record of a treaty of peace and friendship woven in its centre, which was delivered to William Penn by the chief sachem, in exchange for the roll of parchment, with all the solemnity the importance of the occasion demanded. The one, from natural causes, has, in course of time, disappeared and perished, as far as we are aware—the other, also, from natural causes, having been preserved in the family of the founder to the present time, is nearly in as perfect a condition as when it was first given.

*The
Wampum
Belt as a
Record of
History*

From the foregoing considerations, I think, Sir, that by all the admitted rules of evidence, we come fairly to the conclusion, that this belt of wampum is the Indian record of that remarkable event—the memorial of the 'first old Council fire,' which seventy years afterwards, the Indians were invited to come to Philadelphia to re-kindle, and to renew the 'old first treaties of friendship,' the memory of which appears to have been indelibly impressed upon their minds and upon their hearts. And I think, Sir, it is to be regarded as a valuable document—not only from its being thus intimately connected with the earliest history of the settlement of Pennsylvania, but because it is, moreover, a

record on the part of the aborigines . . . confirmed and recorded in their own symbolic language, and in an imperishable material; that Pennsylvania was founded in peace, and in the true catholic spirit of brotherly love, tendered to, and reciprocated by, the Indian in his native forest.*

Mr. Gilpin's reply defies abridgment. It was an eloquent and scholarly tribute to the character of Penn and to his principles. "The Treaty—'not sworn to and never broken'—is the beacon-spot in the history of Pennsylvania, most conspicuous in her early annals." He, too, reviewed the circumstances and objects of the treaty, described the scene as found in the contemporaneous letters of Penn; narrated the terms of the subsequent compacts of Logan, Keith and Gordon at Cone-stoga, stated in terms the nine links in the chain of friendship, and welcomed the generous donor

*Mr.
Gilpin's
Reply to
Mr. Penn's
Presenta-
tion*

Not only as one who has guarded a trophy that honours the memory of him from whom it has descended to you, but because we are proud and grateful to receive it, on behalf of the people of Pennsylvania, to whom it so appropriately belongs; not, indeed, as the pledge of a compact they can now be called on to fulfil, but as the evidence and symbol of the Christian spirit in which their institutions were laid at the first, and of the enduring obligations of benevolence and justice which they have inherited with them.

During the period of the Sergeant administration determined efforts were made to arouse interest in the purposes of the Society by making pilgrimages to historic spots in the neighborhood of Philadelphia, and by banquets and addresses commemorative of historic events in cities and towns outside of Philadelphia. Visits were paid to the site of Fort Nassau, the first fortified post built by the Dutch in 1623; to Tinicum, to tread the ground once trodden by Johan Printz, the re-

*Journeys
and Dinners
of the
Society*

* A dinner was given to Mr. Penn, of which an account appears in *Penna. Mag. of Hist. & Biog.*, XXIV, 231.

doubted Swedish governor, and to the old court house at Chester. Dinners were given on anniversaries of the landing of Penn. On the 169th Anniversary—November 8 (old style), 1851—Edward Armstrong made a masterly effort at Chester, characterized by much learning and research, and at the ensuing banquet Mr. Duane responded to the toast "The Memory of the good old wine which was in the cellars at Pennsbury." Two years later at a dinner at the La Pierre House the speakers were notable. Mayor Robert T. Conrad was brilliant. The presidents of the historical societies of Maryland and Wisconsin were congratulatory and sympathetic, while Justices Grier and Wayne of the Supreme Court of the United States added dignity and eloquence to the occasion, dwelling particularly upon the value to our constitutional system of an independent judiciary. The next year the meeting was at Reading, and the leading address was delivered by the Honorable Charles J. Ingersoll. These were typical of the celebrations maintained for years until the gathering clouds of the fast approaching crisis in national affairs chilled the ardor of festivity.

A Volume of Newspaper Clippings From 1851 to 1858 the stated meetings of the Society, then held every month, were reported with admirable detail and reportorial skill in the daily newspapers, with an animation of style and a redundancy of incident which the official minutes utterly lacked. In fact, the large volume of clippings, which the sagacious industry and prudence of Townsend Ward piously preserved for posterity, constitutes of itself a vivid contemporaneous biography of the Society. Owing to this intelligent co-operation of the public press the citizens of that day were well informed of the activities of our members.

Judge Sergeant's Ill Health It is depressing to note all through these years the almost unbroken absence of President Sergeant, due, as we believe, to ill health, reluctantly revealed in his apologetic letter on the occasion of the presentation of the wampum belt. He appeared but once in 1845, on accepting office, but three times in 1848, and once, for the last time, in 1855. The chair was occupied intermittently in his absence by officers Tyson, Fisher, Reed, Rawle, Jr., Sharswood, Meredith, Norris, Carson, Sargent and J. Ross Snowden. The constitution had been

amended in November, 1847, abolishing the Council and substituting an Executive Committee, and the meetings of the Committee and of the Society were merged. This accounts for the monthly meetings of the Society and the disappearance of the minutes of the Council as such from 1848 to 1862. The minutes of the Executive Committee supplanted them. In time it was found that monthly meetings of the Society were too frequent, complicated as they were with executive business, and the practice of former days was restored.

*Amend-
ments to
the Consti-
tution*

The embarrassments caused by the inactivity of the president became in time too serious to be ignored. The dissatisfaction is visible but intangible in the minutes of 1853. Finally, on May 8, 1854, Mr. Ward offered an amendment to the constitution in significant words: "No Person shall be eligible to the office of President at more than two out of three or Vice-President at more than four out of five successive elections." This reached a third reading in July, and after a vain attempt on the part of Mr. Northrop to postpone action, was adopted with a change to "three out of four successive elections" as to vice-presidents.* No effect was given to this at the annual February election in 1855 and Judge Sergeant was again chosen. In July, 1855, Mr. Ward's heart softened, for he gave notice that at the next meeting he would move to amend the constitution so as to provide "that the restriction in regard to the tenure of the President's term of office, be inoperative in its bearing on the present incumbent." The motion was in due time adopted. Mr. Sergeant was again elected in 1856, and for the last time in 1857. The constitutional provision then took effect, and Judge Sergeant's long presidency was ended. He outlived his official connection with the Society more than two years and died on May 3, 1860, in the seventy-eighth year of his age. He had been so long a stranger to our companionships that his passing from office caused no inconvenience in administration. He left us a legacy of \$100, which was placed with those of Du Ponceau and Paul Beck, Jr., with the commutations for life membership, in the Permanent Fund.

*Provision
Limiting
the Term
of the
President*

*Death of
Judge
Sergeant*

* See *post*, Chapters XIX and XXI.

CHAPTER XVIII

Administration of George W. Norris, M.D. 1858-1860

Biographical Sketch of George W. Norris, His Colonial Ancestors — Isaac Norris, the Councillor — Isaac Norris, the Speaker — Joseph Fox — Personal Characteristics of George W. Norris

AT the February election of 1858, there could be no doubt that Judge Sergeant was no longer eligible for the office of president. The constitution as amended in 1856 had fixed the limit at two successive years of service. The act of the Society in disregarding eleven years of almost complete inaction as a bar to eligibility in 1856 and 1857 had graciously prolonged his official life to the full period of thirteen years. It was the constitution and not his continued ill health that then stood in his way. He was not to die in harness as his predecessors had done.

*The Choice
of a
President* There were four vice-presidents and several active councillors from whom the choice of a successor might have been made. None of these was chosen. Dr. Charles Miner of Wilkes-Barré, the author of an admirable history of Wyoming, was the senior vice-president, but he was an old man, and resided far from Philadelphia. Samuel Breck, a decided personage of many gifts, and at one time very active in the affairs of the Society, was almost an octogenarian. The Honorable George Chambers, an authoritative writer upon the Scots-Irish settlers in Pennsylvania, and the historian of Chambersburg, was an aged non-resident member. Henry D. Gilpin, entitled by distinguished public services and rare scholarship to be regarded as an acceptable candidate, was in ill health and by preference in retirement in the midst of his famous library. Joshua Francis Fisher and John Jordan, Jr., shrank modestly from leadership. William B. Reed was no longer as active as he had been, and was absorbed in professional and literary work. Townsend Ward, Horatio Gates Jones, Aubrey H. Smith, and Charles J. Biddle were still

juniors in the ranks. No one stood forth conspicuously as if predestined for the place.

The probability of the choice of George Washington Norris would not be likely to occur to any student of the affairs of the Society as disclosed by the minutes. The strongest evidence of his interest consisted in his frequent and liberal donations to the funds raised for the purchase of portraits of early governors and other celebrities, and his authorship of *The Early History of Medicine in Philadelphia*, which had been for the most part written in 1845, but which did not find its way into print until 1886, when it was privately published by his son, the late Dr. William F. Norris, the eminent oculist. In all likelihood his selection was due to a well-grounded belief in his fitness, that, aside from Mr. Joshua Francis Fisher, he represented a closer blood relationship to eminent men and women of provincial days than any other member.

*Selection
of George
Washington
Norris,
M.D.*

He was of the fifth generation in the direct line of descent from Thomas Norris, a merchant of London, and a member of the Society of Friends, who, about 1678, emigrated to Jamaica as the result of religious persecution. As early as 1659, he was one of those "peculiar people," as Cromwell termed them, who petitioned Parliament for the release of a number of their brethren immured in London prisons for matters of conscience, offering "to lie in prison, person for person, instead of such as were then in confinement and might be in danger of their lives through extreme duress." Even after his arrival at Port Royal, he continued to be persecuted, being twice fined for refusal to bear arms, and a third time for the refusal of a son to do the same. He had married Mary Moore of London, who accompanied him to Jamaica.

*A Long
Line of
Colonial
Ancestors*

Isaac Norris, their youngest child, born in London, July 26, 1671, had been sent in 1690 by his father to Philadelphia to investigate the propriety of moving there. He carried letters addressed to Thomas Lloyd, then deputy-governor. Two years later he returned to receive the appalling news that his father and other members of the family, except his step-mother and a single sister, had but recently perished in the earthquake that destroyed Port Royal on June 7, 1692, or in the pestilence which followed. In this wreck of the family for-

*Isaac
Norris,
"The
Councillor"*

tunes, and lured doubtless by the charms of Mary Lloyd, the daughter of the governor, whom he eventually married, he returned to Philadelphia, entering into business, both commercial and landed, he became one of the wealthiest and most influential public men of his day. For six years, 1699-1705, he was a member of the Assembly. In 1707, at William Penn's request, he went to England to assist in extricating the unhappy Founder from the toils arising from the perfidy of the Fords. Again a member of the Assembly in 1711-12, he was chosen speaker. In 1708 he became a provincial councillor, and such was the sagacity of his advice that he became renowned throughout the province as "the Councillor." James Logan paid him this tribute, "I value his judgment far above any man's in this government (except Samuel Carpenter) and he is one of the most excellent of men."

His Numerous Offices Owing to the confused mixture in those days of executive, legislative and judicial functions, he was also a judge. In 1717 he became a justice for Philadelphia County, retaining his seat for many years. Upon the organization of the High Court of Chancery, under Governor Keith, and being one of the oldest provincial councillors, he was appointed a master to sit with the lieutenant-governor in hearing cases. In 1720, he was for a second time speaker of the Assembly. In 1724, he was the mayor of Philadelphia. On the death of David Lloyd in 1731, he was tendered the office of Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, but preferred to remain in the county court. He was a trustee under the will of William Penn and attorney-in-fact for Hannah Penn, the widow.

A Large Land Owner He became a great land owner, buying with William Trent, in 1704, the manor of Williamstadt of 7,480 acres, then owned by William Penn, Jr. Later he bought out Trent's interest, who removed to New Jersey and became the founder of Trenton. The manor was in due time called Norriton, and included the site of the present borough of Norristown. He owned also more than 900 acres of land in the Northern Liberties, and, in the city of Philadelphia proper, besides his dwelling, on the site of the present Custom House, with its spacious gardens and an orchard, he was the owner of the "Slate-roof House," famous as the residence of Penn during his second

visit to Pennsylvania—the building which this Society in its search for a home sought in vain to buy.*

He drove in a coach emblazoned with the coat of arms belonging to the Norrice, Norrey or Norreys family of Speke Manor, Lancashire, England, founded in 1311, by Sir Henry Norreys who had married Joan Molyneaux. His personal traits were amiable. He was a master of several languages, a diligent reader devoted to his books, and was, moreover, interested in the education of youth, serving as a director of the first public school in Philadelphia. One of his contemporaries described him as a man "whose character will do honour to his latest posterity, a doer of justice, a lover of mercy, a loving husband, an affectionate father, a sincere friend, and a lover of his country." He died of apoplexy on June 4, 1735, at the age of sixty-four. Such a man was the first American progenitor of the fourth president of this Society.

*His
Personal
Traits*

The offspring of Isaac Norris, "the Councillor," and Mary Lloyd, were numerous, and of distinguished alliances. Of his daughters, Mary married Thomas Griffiths, a provincial councillor and Keeper of the Great Seal; Hannah married Richard Harrison of Maryland, who later settled at Harriton in Lower Merion Township, and their daughter Hannah became the wife of Charles Thomson, the secretary of the Continental Congress. Of his sons, two—Isaac and Charles—were notable men; the former married Sarah Logan, daughter of James Logan of Stenton, the renowned provincial secretary of William Penn; the latter married as a second wife, Mary Parker, daughter of Joseph Parker, and became the grandfather of George W. Norris, whose administration as president of this Society is the concern of this chapter.

It will not be an altogether unpardonable digression from the strict line of the ancestors of our president to devote a few paragraphs to Isaac Norris, the second, "The Speaker," as he is known to Pennsylvania history, due to his fifteen years of continuous service in that office. Next to James Logan, his father-in-law, he was the most outstanding representative of the strictly Quaker politics of his day. An interesting sketch of his character and career was written by his grand-nephew,

*Isaac
Norris,
"The
Speaker"*

* See *ante*, Chapter XVI.

George W. Norris, M.D., which appeared in Volume I of *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* published by this Society. Isaac Sharpless, the late president of Haverford College, has done him full justice in his admirable *Political Leaders in Provincial Pennsylvania*, and our fellow member, Charles Penrose Keith, has, in his *Provincial Councillors of Pennsylvania*, drawn his character and career in strong lines.

Born October 3, 1701, he was brought up as a merchant although classically educated, and he twice went abroad to travel in Europe. With a taste for public life, he became conspicuous among our colonial "politicians," without a shadow of present day reproach in the use of the word. In 1727, at the age of 26, he became a common councilman, and three years later became an alderman. In 1734, he for the first time entered the Assembly as a member for Philadelphia County, and at once his standing as a merchant made him an authority on matters of trade.

When Governor Gordon communicated to the House an inquiry from the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations as to the encouragement necessary to induce the American colonies to furnish naval stores and other commodities not produced in England, Norris, notwithstanding his youth, was appointed chairman of a committee to draft a reply. His report is the most valuable exposition of the resources of Pennsylvania to be found in *Votes of the Assembly*. In less than four years he became the leader of the Quaker party. Throughout his public career of thirty-two years, although involved in many bitter disputes, he never lost the confidence of his constituents, "never asked a vote to get into the House, nor solicited any member for posts of private advantage or employments." Independent in thought, and courageous in action on his convictions, his popularity was unbounded, and his leadership undisputed.

In 1745, and again in 1754, he was one of the commissioners to represent Pennsylvania at Albany in conferences with the Indians. He left a diary of his first journey, which was privately printed in 1867.* He and his colleagues effected the

* Reprinted in *Penna. Mag. of Hist. & Biog.*, XXVII, 20.

Biographical Sketch of Isaac Norris, "The Speaker"

A Leader of the Quaker Party

purchase of the Indian title to several millions of acres, comprising a large part of southwestern Pennsylvania. His political statesmanship was conspicuously displayed during the French and Indian wars. He saw, as did Franklin, that France, pressing from Canada with hostile arms upon the northern and western boundaries of the English colonies inclusive of Pennsylvania, had but to ally herself with Spain in the West and South to put the English colonies in peril, and that French success meant direct loss to the vast estates of the Penns. When Governor Thomas suggested that the Assembly take measures for defence and vote supplies, Norris, abating not a tittle of his conscientious scruples as a Quaker against war, and stoutly defending his sect in a refusal to bear arms, recognized the liberty of conscience of other sects who held no such views. While refusing to put the militia and money for fortifications in the hands of the governor and his faction, his loyalty to the crown, and his dread of tomahawks and scalping knives in their consequences to the fortunes of the province, led him to sustain an appropriation of £3000 "for the use of King George II," without too curious inquiry into expenditures.

*His Services
to the
Public*

In 1754, with Franklin he was a member of the famous Albany Congress, whose labors and declarations are of interest to all students of our political development. During the fifteen years of his speakership, the great contest was waged between the people and the proprietaries on the subject of taxation and legislative control of the Penn family estates. Norris opposed all special privileges and exemptions. In this he agreed with Franklin, but he did not hesitate to oppose Franklin when the latter urged that Pennsylvania be made a royal province. In 1764, sustained by the eloquence and logic of his son-in-law, John Dickinson—soon to become famous—he refused, as speaker, to approve a petition to the King to effect this change, and, rather than attach his signature, resigned his office. Franklin, his successor, signed the paper. At the next popular election Franklin was defeated for the Assembly, while Norris was returned, and was again chosen speaker. Again he resigned, this time because of ill health.

*A Member
of the
Albany
Convention*

*His
Political In-
dependence*

President Sharpless concisely sums up his biography as follows: "Thus as a man who was both scholarly and practi-

*Suggests
the Inscription Upon
the Liberty
Bell*

cal, adaptable and conscientious, tolerant and religious, he was able to guide the youthful Province through rather stormy times, when the Holy Experiment had to be tempered with many conflicting interests and divergent judgments." He deserves to be held in everlasting remembrance in association with the Liberty Bell, the most cherished relic of American history. When, in 1751, he became speaker, he thought it necessary to crown the new State House with a bell. In ordering it from England, his instructions were, "Let the bell be cast by the best workmen, and examined carefully before it is shipped with the following words well shaped in large letters round it; viz: 'By order of the Assembly of The Province of Pennsylvania, for the State House in the City of Philadelphia, 1752,' and underneath 'Proclaim Liberty throughout the land, unto all the inhabitants thereof. Levit. XXV: 10.'" The imported bell was cracked in the trial ringing and recast in Philadelphia with the same inscription by the "ingenious" Passe and Stowe. Of their work Isaac Norris said, "They have made a good bell which pleases me much that we should first venture upon and succeed in the greatest bell for aught I know in English America—surpassing too the imported one which is too high and brittle—the weight was 2080 lbs."

*Charles
Norris*

Charles Norris, the grandfather of the fourth president of this Society, was the younger brother of "the Speaker," having been born May 9, 1712. His only public activities were as a trustee for many years of the Loan Office of Pennsylvania, and as one of the managers or directors of the Pennsylvania Hospital. While prominent and successful as a merchant he preferred the private walks of life. He inherited from his father, the "Councillor," the splendid mansion then on the site of the present Custom House, with the garden running back to what is now known as Library Street, ornamented with rare shrubs and plants amidst gravelled paths shaded by monarchs of the original forest. During the Revolution, the patriots in their distress stripped the dwelling of the heavy leaden spouts and rain gutters to make bullets for the Continental army. After the evacuation of Philadelphia by the British in May, 1778, the house and garden became the scene of much social gaiety,

of which charming glimpses are to be had in the "Journal of Sally Wister." His first wife was Margaret, daughter of Doctor John Rodman, of Bucks County, who died without issue. His second wife was Mary, daughter of Joseph Parker, a native of Yorkshire, England, who was deputy register of Chester County, and clerk of the court of common pleas, but who later removed to west New Jersey. Their daughter, Deborah, born October 19, 1761, married her cousin Doctor George Logan, and is the best known of all the women of her day to this generation as "Deborah Logan," to whose diary, and to whose careful collation of the Penn and Logan correspondence and to her memoranda of events of which she was an eye-witness, and to her notes of facts which she had unrivalled opportunities of knowing, John Fanning Watson was deeply indebted for much of the material preserved in the famous Watson's *Annals*.

*The Father
of Deborah
Logan*

Joseph Parker Norris, the second son of Charles and Mary (Parker) Norris, and a younger brother of Deborah Logan, was born in Philadelphia, May 5, 1763. He was a pupil of Robert Proud, the historian, and was an executor of his will. For many years he was president of the Bank of Pennsylvania, but is best known to fame by the old fashioned conveyancing counsel of Philadelphia, and the present title officers of our real estate title companies, as the owner of the "Fair Hill" and "Sepviva" estates. These designations, as sources of title to thousands of present day ownerships, were well known to the lawyers and judges—particularly those of our Orphans' Court—of forty years ago, relating originally to a part of the large holdings in the Northern Liberties of Isaac Norris, "the Councillor." By his will they had been settled upon Joseph Parker Norris and his brothers in strict tail male, with remainder to the right heirs of Isaac Norris—"the Speaker"—with an outstanding power in the only living child of the latter—Mrs. John Dickinson—to determine which son of Charles Norris should be tenant in tail. Joseph Parker Norris purchased from his brothers their titles, and to secure an entire ownership, obtained from John Dickinson and his wife Mary—sole heiress of the Speaker and by blood the aunt of Joseph

*Joseph
Parker
Norris*

*A Large
Land
Owner*

*Strict Entail
of the "Fair
Hill" and
"Sepviva"
Estates*

Parker Norris, but childless—a designation of himself as tenant in tail, as well as a grant of the reversionary interest. To destroy the entail, “a common recovery”—an ancient common law form of action affecting real estate as practiced in England for centuries—was resorted to, thus freeing a large body of land from a species of settlement which was in conflict with the spirit of our laws of inheritance.

*Features
of the
Entail*

Having thus acquired in sole personal ownership over 650 acres of land between Gunner's Run, later the Aramingo Canal, and the Germantown road, which from their proximity to the city of Philadelphia proper were bound to advance rapidly in value, he became enamored of the idea of tying up the estate during the lives of his children for the benefit of the next generation. He had married on May 20, 1790, Elizabeth Hill Fox, the daughter of Elizabeth Mickle and Joseph Fox, who had succeeded Isaac Norris, the second, as speaker of the Assembly. Their issue were numerous, seven daughters and seven sons, the mother of this unusually large family surviving her husband nearly twenty years, dying in January of 1861. Ignoring the claims of his immediate progeny, and dying in June, 1841, he devised “Fair Hill” to trustees for the children of his sons, and “Sepviva” to trustees for the children of his daughters. To further his plan of enriching his grandchildren he purposely withheld from the trustees all powers of sale. The burden of carrying so large a body of unproductive land on the very borders of a fast growing city became intolerable, and a private Act of Assembly in the halcyon days of special legislation was resorted to, authorizing the trustees of both tracts to sell the lands on ground rents. The last three generations of the leaders of the Philadelphia bar have been engaged in the argument and settlement through the Supreme Court of the most abstruse legal questions arising under the common recovery, the Act of Assembly and wills and deeds since made. If romance can be predicated of lawsuits affecting Philadelphia real estate, no chapter is more striking in our local legal history than that relating to the Northern Liberties' land of the provincial councillor. As an example of swollen pride on the part of an individual land owner, the descendant

*A Romantic
Law Suit*

of a contemporary of William Penn in borrowing the forms of feudal times, it stands alone; as an illustration of the futility of attempting to impose the shackles of personal ambition for a wealthy posterity upon the growing needs of a community demanding room for development, it is full of warning. If the lay reader will pardon a legal comparison, the rule in Shelley's Case, originating in England in the days of Edward III, and precisely vindicated in the reign of Elizabeth, and the rule against perpetuities successfully contended for, in the reign of George III, by Sir John Scott, later Lord Eldon, were the forerunners of our own efforts to remove the clutch of the dead hand from much-needed land by throwing it into freedom of alienation and the track of commerce one generation earlier than contemplated by the form of settlement of an estate.

The maternal ancestors of George Washington Norris were of distinction. He was the ninth child and sixth son of Joseph Parker Norris and Elizabeth Hill Fox. His mother was the thirteenth and youngest child of Joseph and Elizabeth (Mickle) Fox. Her mother was the granddaughter of Samuel Mickle, "the croaker," whom Franklin has pilloried in his *Autobiography*. Her father was Joseph Fox, the son of Justinian Fox, who came to Pennsylvania from Plymouth, England, in 1686, in the ship *Desire*. Joseph was born in Philadelphia in 1709—the exact date not being recorded. He was apprenticed to James Portues, a well known founder of the Carpenters' Company, and followed his calling so diligently that he was the chairman of the committee which, in 1768, purchased the lot on which, in 1771, the historic Hall of the Carpenters' Company was built. To the building fund he was a generous subscriber. So well was he thought of as a man of sound judgment and sterling character that he was frequently named in the wills of substantial citizens as executor and trustee.

The Maternal Ancestors of George Washington Norris

Joseph Fox never ranked as a leader of political thought, nor as the author of plans for the adjustment of public difficulties, yet he was consulted with equal respect for his sagacity and integrity by such opponents as Isaac Norris, 2d, and Franklin. He was regarded as a safe and disinterested coun-

Joseph Fox

*His Stand-
ing as a
Public Man*

sellor, the moderation of his views, his freedom from cant, and the solidity of his business experience making him a dependable adviser. Hence, though we do not read of him in the pages of historians as standing in the public eye with Logan, Norris, John Kinsey or even James Pemberton, yet we can trace through the journals of the Assembly and the records of the Loan Office his unobtrusive but influential participation in affairs. In 1745, he was city commissioner; in 1748, one of the city assessors; in 1750, a Philadelphia County member of the Assembly. With but two defeats, he held his place until 1772. At times he topped Franklin at the polls. Of all important committees he was an active member, his most conspicuous service being in the committee on accounts. His signature headed the list of signatories to numerous public bills of credit, and guaranteed the accuracy of the numbers of the bills in guarding against over-issues, and in sinking or destroying old issues. Twice did he serve as speaker, the last time as successor to Franklin in 1764. He was chosen as a delegate to the Stamp Act Congress, was one of the superintendents of the building of the State House, now known to the world as Independence Hall, and was credited by Watson in his *Annals* with the erection of "the ponderous high gate and the massive brick structure over the top of it" at the centre of the Walnut Street side of the wall that in those days enclosed the State House Square. His name appears as the third in the list of signers of the Non-importation Agreement of 1765. He was a stout supporter of Franklin's plan for the establishment of the Pennsylvania Hospital. During the Indian troubles in the seventeen fifties and sixties, he was barrack master of the buildings housing his Majesty's troops, and after the outbreak of the Revolution when barracks were established at Lancaster, he was the first master appointed. In 1777, he took the oath of allegiance to Pennsylvania, and renounced his allegiance to the crown. He remained sturdily true to the cause of the colonies while remaining in Philadelphia during the occupation of the city by the British in 1777-78. His death is recorded in Friends' Meeting records in March, 1780.*

* "Biographical Sketch of Joseph Fox, Esq., of Philadelphia," by Anne H. Cresson, *Penna. Mag. of Hist. & Biog.*, XXXII, 175.

In accounting for the selection by the Society of a man as president whose name appeared but seldom in the minutes, and whose voice had never been heard at its general meetings, it is highly probable that his associates were largely influenced by the unusual representative value of his ancestral relationships in broadening and sustaining the work of the Society. To collect material of permanent historic importance on a large scale, to rescue from the ravages of time documents and letters pertaining to past events, to preserve the memories of men and women who had sustained and adorned the successive periods of Provincial and Revolutionary development, to correlate their efforts, to mass the evidence, to give to many instead of to a few the opportunity of contribution, to bind the present to the past by following the ramifications of families, and to illustrate their inter-relationships and associations in their collaborative efforts to up-build the commonwealth—these and like aims were not designed to feed narrow pride or personal arrogance, but to sustain an intelligent and unselfish sympathy with the true needs of historians.

The reader of these pages who has carried in mind the very definite representative character of each president of this Society, who has followed the accretions of material during successive administrations, who has marked how various sources of history had been tapped and conducted into a common reservoir, cannot fail to understand how the plans of the Founders were happy in conception, rich in results, and full of hope of the future. It has been through the steady exploration of many leads into the recesses of the past, and the excavation of buried treasure once largely in private hands, that this Society has become so impressively strong as an institution of exalted purpose and of public importance. It was partially to illustrate all this that we have given such space to the ancestry of Dr. Norris.

George W. Norris was too modest and self-effacing by temperament ever to have sought office or wittingly to have suggested that his ancestral connections qualified him for high place, but his colleagues, who were excellent genealogists and familiar with what his ancestors had done, could not have been insensible to such claims, sustained as they were by his ardent

*Reasons for
Selecting
George
Washington
Norris as
President*

*The Repre-
sentative
Character
of the
Presidents
of the
Society*

*Modesty of
George W.
Norris*

His Associates in Office

interest in history, and by his generous contributions to the funds which had placed pictures and portraits upon our walls. They were cognizant of the fact that when Dr. Norris had been called several times to the chair in the absence of the president, he had presided with grave but attentive dignity, and had held the business before the meetings well in hand. And so it was, that passing over the vice-presidents, and the more conspicuous names of Winthrop Sargent, Job R. Tyson, Samuel Hazard, James Ross Snowden and Edward Armstrong, the Society on February 8, 1858, chose as President, George W. Norris; as Vice-Presidents, Charles Miner, Samuel Breck, George Chambers and Henry D. Gilpin; as Treasurer, Charles M. Morris; as Recording Secretary, Frank M. Etting; as Corresponding Secretary, Horatio Gates Jones, and as Librarian, Townsend Ward. The same ticket was re-elected in February, 1859, with the sole exception of substituting John Jordan, Jr., as Recording Secretary for Frank M. Etting, who, having become a Councillor, was placed upon the publishing committee. Under the constitution, as it then stood, Dr. Norris could not be chosen a third time. Hence, his term of presidential service was the briefest in the annals of the Society.

Sketch of George W. Norris, M.D.

It was as a physician and particularly as a surgeon that he was best known to fame. Born in Philadelphia, November 6, 1808, he received his schooling under James Ross, a popular teacher and school-book author of the time. Later, he entered the academic department of the University of Pennsylvania, and graduated as a Bachelor of Arts on July 26, 1827. He pursued the study of medicine under the well known Dr. Joseph Parrish as a private preceptor, and also in the medical department of the University with Professors Physick, Chapman, Hare, Gibson, Horner and Jackson. His medical degree was conferred in the spring of 1830. In the same year, he was appointed one of the resident physicians in the Pennsylvania Hospital. After three years of service he visited Paris, and for two years devoted himself to surgery under Dupuytren, Roux and Velpeaux, assisting the latter in translations from the English works of the celebrated Sir Astley Cooper, and becoming a member of the "Société Médicale d'Observation," of

which Louis Philippe was the famous president. On his return to Philadelphia in October, 1835, he entered on his long and distinguished surgical career. In 1836, he was elected one of the surgeons to the Pennsylvania Hospital, and served the institution for twenty-seven years, a longer period than that of any other surgeon theretofore connected with the hospital. In 1846, he became the Professor of Clinical Surgery in the University of Pennsylvania, and occupied the chair until 1857, when he resigned to become a trustee of the University.

His merits as a teacher and an operator were fully dwelt upon by the late Dr. William Hunt in a memoir read before the College of Physicians of Philadelphia, October 6, 1875. Briefly summarized, his traits were these: punctuality in attendance, a methodical system, careful preparation, exact investigation of each case, a passion for cleanliness and ventilation, and stern displeasure over neglect of his requirements. He resorted to the knife only after careful consideration of a case in every aspect. Before operating he considered every possible detail, and provided against all contingencies. "Nothing was done for sensation, all for use. In operating, earnestness marked every feature, and characterized every movement. We have seen him in great cases, and at critical points, when the mental strain must have been intense, so wholly did he throw himself into his work, but we are not aware of any failure to accomplish his object, nor of any of the deplorable accidents of the operating table having happened to him—a result to be attributed, first to his selection of cases, and secondly to his careful preparation. Where he could not select, but had to act promptly, he was equal to the occasion, and, of course, had his own measure of successes and failures. He regarded the after treatment of operative cases as the most important element of success. His plans were simple, but carried out with every attention to detail; hemorrhage, especially of the secondary variety, was his dread."

The medical reader of these pages will appreciate the difficulties under which Dr. Norris labored. He did not live to see all the modern developments of the surgery of the cavities of the body—the cranium, chest, abdomen, and pelvic

viscera—due to the discoveries of Lord Lister. The use of chemical antiseptics was then unknown, the principle of which was to prevent the development of micro-organisms in wounds. “More soap and water” was the only resource of Norris: Lister did not win fame until after 1869. Pasteur was not then known for his study of bacteria, and the investigation of fermentation and putrefaction. Koch had not yet taught the correct theory of specific infectious diseases. Clinical thermometers, and hypodermic syringes were unknown to Dr. Norris. Ether and chloroform were the only two anesthetics in use, the latter being regarded as dangerous.

As a Lecturer As a lecturer, he was eminently practical, plain and concise. His voice was low, but deep, clear and well modulated. In private practice, he combined firmness with gentleness, patience and care. His judgment was regarded as sound, and his opinions were much sought and valued by his fellows.

As a Medical Author As an author, Dr. Norris wrote for medical journals during thirty years about twenty papers, each one of which made its mark both at home and abroad. They were collected in a volume entitled *Contributions to Practical Surgery*, published in 1873. The chapter, or essay upon “The Occurrence of Non-union after Fractures” was praised as an exhaustive masterpiece. Professor Hamilton described it as “the most complete and reliable monograph on this subject contained in any language.”

Tribute of the College of Physicians The resolution adopted by the College of Physicians, in tribute to their late vice-president, described him as a man of courteous and gentle bearing, of honorable conduct and high tone in his relations with his associates, studiously avoiding everything incompatible with the dignity of the profession, and free from all invidious personal assertion. His life and career were models worthy of imitation, and illustrative of the principles which have animated the conduct of the great and good men of the medical profession. Regret for the loss sustained in his decease was accompanied by imperishable recollections of his personal worth.

The present writer well remembers him as a frequent visitor to his father’s house, in hours of sickness as well as of

health, and never can forget the sympathetic touch of his hand upon the brow, the sweetness of his smile, and the low tones of his rich voice. He was of tall and imposing figure, with a bald head, and long dark beard, tinged with gray. The portrait now hanging in the Hall of this Society, the gift of the son and daughter of Dr. Norris, painted by Matthew Wilson of Lake George, N. Y., is an admirable likeness, and has many times recalled recollections of the soothing gentleness of a big and noble man towards a boy in sorrow.

*His
Personal
Appearance*

CHAPTER XIX

Norris Administration

Activities of the Society — Memorial to Congress — Amendments to Constitution and By-Laws — Low Ebb in Affairs of the Society — Publications — Vol. VI of the Memoirs — The Case of Major André — C. J. Biddle's Masterly Refutation of Charges of Lord Mahon against Washington — Addresses — Festivities of the Society — Gilpin's Tribute to Richard Rush — Accessions and Gifts — The Failure of the Gilpin Bequest

*Memorial
to Secretary
Cass*

THE first act of President Norris was to unite with the vice-presidents of the Society in the preparation of a memorial addressed to the Honorable Lewis Cass, Secretary of State of the United States, in the opening years of Buchanan's administration, representing the great value of the *American Archives*, edited by Peter Force, and urging a continuation of the series as conducive to the public interest. The Society also urged upon Congress the publication of the records of the Virginia Company, the first records of Anglo-American colonization on this continent.

*A Shrinking
Attendance*

During the year 1858, with the exception of August, the Society held stated monthly meetings, and Doctor Norris occupied the chair nine times. The Executive Committee, as the Council was then called, also met at later dates in each month, and transacted all executive business, distributed chiefly between the standing sub-committees on library, publication and finance. At these meetings the president appeared but twice. During 1859, he appeared but four times at the meetings of the Society, and not at all at the meetings of the Executive Committee. The minutes of both bodies shrank to meagre limits.

A ripple was occasioned by the presentation of the resignation of Townsend Ward as librarian, which was not accepted. Thereupon, Mr. Ward moved for the appointment of a committee of three "on the subject of certain manuscripts abstracted from the Society." Mr. Etting moved to amend by adding the list of abstracted manuscripts, which was adopted. Mr. Ward declined to furnish such list. On reconsideration of the amend-

ment, Mr. Etting withdrew it, and the matter was referred to Dr. Norris, Charles M. Morris, and Dr. B. H. Coates. Seven months later, the committee reported that they had made inquiry, "and believe the impressions out of which their appointment grew originated in a misapprehension, and that no further action of the Committee is required." The discharge then asked for was granted.

During this time the constitution was amended so as to require the nomination of all officers to be made at the January meeting of the Society, preceding the annual February election, and no new candidates could be nominated at the February meeting, except by unanimous consent. No person could be balloted for unless his nomination with the names of his proposers was publicly read at the meeting at which the balloting took place; no candidate was to be declared elected unless he polled three-fourths of the ballots cast, and on the request of three members, the balloting on one or more candidates was to be postponed until the next succeeding meeting.* The writer has been unable to ascertain the circumstances which led to these provisions. Conjectures as to the cause of such precautions would be out of place.

*Amendment
of the Con-
stitution of
the Society*

At the same time the by-laws were amended so as to read: *Amendment
to the
By-Laws*

Art. XI. There shall be the following standing Committees, each to be composed of three members of the Society; viz. 1st—Committee on the Library, 2nd—Committee on Publications, 3rd—Committee on Finance. The members thereof shall be (elected annually) shall serve for the term of three years; one of each committee shall be elected annually at the stated meeting of the Society in February. Those elected in 1859 shall draw lots for their respective terms of one, two, and three years. The nomination of candidates for these committees shall be made at the stated meeting of the Society in January, and no new nominations shall be made except by unanimous consent. The members of these com-

* For prior amendments, see *ante*, Chapters XVII and XIX.

mittees, together with the other officers of the Society, shall form an Executive Committee, which shall have full power to establish their quorum, and to transact and direct all business affairs of the Society, and shall meet at the Hall on the fourth Monday of every month. Members of the Society shall have the right to attend the meetings of the Committee, to introduce motions, and to speak thereon; and at any election for members of the Society, to vote at the same. In order that the meetings of the Society shall be free for the reading of papers or for discussions on historical and literary subjects, the business of the Society shall be transacted by the Executive Committee, any member of which, however, shall have the right to call for the ayes and nays on any question to be entered on the Minutes, and to bring the same, by appeal, before the Society: in which case the list of the ayes and nays, together with the notice of the appeal shall form a part of the record, and be laid before the next meeting of the Society.

*Financial
Regulations*

The regulation was adopted that notices of the election of new members were to be signed by the corresponding secretary, or, in his absence, by the librarian. This was ordered, as the minutes show, to avoid the irregularities, delays, omissions and inaccuracies in the registration and notification of new members, which had, theretofore, caused confusion, particularly in the treasurer's accounts. Annual dues for members residing in Philadelphia were fixed at three dollars. A payment of twenty dollars at one time by a member not in arrears to the Society, should constitute him a member for life, with an exemption from all future annual payments. A member in arrears for annual dues for the space of two years might have his rights suspended, and in case the arrears were not paid when the third annual contribution became due, the membership might then be forfeited and the name be stricken from the roll.

Thus were the affairs of the Society placed upon a business basis, and the vexatious difficulties encountered by the treasurers of the past largely eliminated. Charles M. Morris, then treasurer, was chosen chairman of the Executive Committee, and Charles S. Keyser secretary. The meetings of the Committee were very sparsely attended, the average attendance being but four; one meeting was conducted by Mr. Ward alone.

*Neglect to
Attend
Council
Meetings*

The treasurer's report for 1859 disclosed annual subscriptions received from members to the sum of \$1,257, and life subscriptions \$220; subscriptions to the Publication Fund, \$680. These sums, with a few items of interest on investments, totalled \$2,345.25. The expenditures exceeded the receipts by \$99.53, the excess having been paid by the treasurer. Rent and gas for the Hall amounted to \$209. Michael Kelly, the janitor, received \$20 for a year's service; advertising cost \$17.69; portorage, postage, and stationery cost \$85.42; printing and binding \$53.50. The librarian, whose salary was one-fourth in arrears, made no reports during 1858 and 1859. Truly, it was again a condition of ebb tide.

Ebb Tide

The Publication Fund showed a better state of affairs. The principal amounted to \$15,000 separately invested, and was held by Judge Oswald Thompson of the Philadelphia County Court of Common Pleas, as trustee. One item is of moment as disclosing the high rates of interest paid by railroad corporations upon outstanding obligations—that of a recent investment in a ten per cent. coupon bond of the North Pennsylvania Railroad Company, bought at a discount of four per cent.

*Publication
Fund*

The outstanding achievement of the Norris administration was the publication of Volume VI of the *Memoirs* of the Society, being the second work undertaken at the expense of the Publication Fund. It is a handsome book of 429 pages, from the press of J. B. Lippincott & Co. (1858), and contains six papers of unusual and lasting interest to scholars, under the sub-title *Contributions to American History*. Alexander Johnston contributed "Some Account of the Society of the Cincinnati." Winthrop Sargent edited the "Journal of the General Meeting of the Cincinnati in 1784." Townsend Ward wrote on "The Insurrection of the year 1794, in the Western Counties

*Volume VI
of the
Memoirs*

of Pennsylvania," to which were appended "General Wilkins's Account of the Gathering on Braddock's Field" and a "Memoir of the Insurrection," by James Gallatin. The full proceedings, speeches and correspondence, accompanying the "Presentation to the Historical Society of Pennsylvania of the Belt of Wampum* Delivered by the Indians to William Penn, at the Great Treaty under the Elm Tree in 1682," occupy seventy-six pages, to which were appended "William Penn's Letters to the Indians," "Plan for the Union of the English Colonies," and "Plan for the Confederation of the States of Europe." A beautiful illustration of the Wampum Belt, exactly corresponding with the original in size, length, breadth and color, is prefixed. William B. Reed wrote, with his characteristic grace and care, "The Acadian Exiles, or French Neutrals, in Pennsylvania," to which was appended "A Relation of their Misfortunes," by John Baptiste Galerm. The volume closed with the "Case of Major André, with a Review of the Statement of it in Lord Mahon's History of England," by Charles J. Biddle.

The narrative form of five of these papers eludes condensation, but Mr. Biddle's paper submits to analysis. In fact, read in connection with Winthrop Sargent's life of André, it presents a clear and unemotional statement of André's conduct, and vindicates by legal analysis and convincing logic the inflexible justice of Washington in executing the sentence unanimously pronounced on André by the trial board of officers.

Lord Mahon, in the seventh volume of his *History of England, 1713-1783*, published in London in 1854, had made a serious effort to open the judgment which public opinion in this country—if not throughout the world—had passed upon André's case, and to disparage the behavior and character of all the American actors in it, save Benedict Arnold. He had expressed the opinion that the death of André was "the greatest blot" upon the career of Washington, that it was due to an unwonted sternness in his character, and to a culpable omission to examine for himself the facts of the particular transaction. The reader of these pages, if interested, can judge for himself of his lordship's arguments, for Mr. Biddle, in a spirit of

* See account of presentation, *ante*, Chapter XVII.

perfect fairness, has printed *in extenso* the entire chapter relating to the matter, as an appendix to his critique.

Mr. Biddle in his review of the case assembled the material facts as gathered from authentic testimony, both documentary and oral, and established from the admissions of Sir Henry Clinton, the British commander, in his memoirs that he had been for eighteen months in secret correspondence with Arnold, whose identity was then unknown, in furtherance of a scheme to betray the American cause, which finally shaped itself to the surrender of West Point. Step by step Mr. Biddle stated the evidence which fully sustained the findings of the board of inquiry appointed by Washington, and effectively answered the sneers of Lord Mahon at the characters of the American generals. He crushingly quoted Vattel: "Spies are those who introduce themselves among the enemy to discover the condition of his affairs, penetrate his designs, and communicate them to their employers." He quoted, also to the same effect, the opinion of Sir Samuel Romilly, the famous English advocate, whose fame is still fragrant.

That Washington deliberated long and seriously over the report of the board, and then unflinchingly performed his sad duty of confirming it, is also clearly set forth by Mr. Biddle. This admirable exertion of historical scholarship and spirit on the part of one of the members of this Society was closed with the words: "Never was more manifest, than in the disposal of the case of André, the constant, calm, and high devotion to duty, that made the life of Washington an example of as near approach to complete moral greatness as has yet exalted the dignity of man."

Vindication of Washington's Conclusion

The volume of *Memoirs* just reviewed was the only publication to be credited to the Norris administration, but such was the excellence of its historical, literary, and typographical features that it was commented upon most favorably. The manuscripts for another volume were well in hand as prepared for the press by Mr. Armstrong, but as actual publication did not take place until the middle of 1860, the meed of praise to which it was entitled must be reserved for the next chapter.

During the years 1858 and 1859, addresses were delivered before the Society by the Reverend Doctor Hawks on the

*Addresses
Before the
Society* "Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence"; by William J. Buck, the historian of Montgomery County, on "Joseph Galloway"; by George Henry Moore, the librarian of the New York Historical Society, on "The Treason of General Charles Lee"; and by Captain William W. H. Davis on the "Pueblo Indians." Dr. William H. Denny, of Pittsburgh, was requested to edit, for publication by the Society, the military journal of his father, Major Ebenezer Denny, an officer in the Revolutionary and Indian wars; and the Reverend William C. Reichel was requested to write a history of Bethlehem, Pennsylvania.

*Festivities
of the
Society* Nor was the Society averse to festivity. On November 8, 1859, it celebrated the 177th Anniversary of the Landing of William Penn by a dinner at the "Sun Tavern" in Bethlehem. Fifty members of the Society travelled up from Philadelphia, and were welcomed by twenty citizens of Bethlehem, Easton, Allentown and Reading. Letters were read from Lord Lyons, the British minister at Washington, from Bishop Potter, Charles Miner of Wilkes-Barré—the senior vice-president of the Society, Dr. Darlington of West Chester, Jared Sparks, the editor of the writings of Washington, and Luther Bradish, president of the New York Historical Society. Speeches were made by Major Charles J. Biddle, who presided, and by Colonel J. Ross Snowden, the Honorable Henry Carleton, William B. Reed, Esq., but recently United States minister to China, Mr. Algernon S. Roberts, the Reverend Edmund de Schweinitz, General George M. Keim, and Major Freas of the *Germantown Telegraph*. The memory of William Penn, the memory of Washington, the city of Philadelphia, The Historical Society of Pennsylvania, the Moravian Historical Society, "Old Berks," the town of Bethlehem, the boroughs of Easton and Doylestown were toasted.

The occasion was well noticed by the newspapers. Particular attention was given to the gastronomic features. We quote a local tribute:

The dinner was got up in Leibert's best style, and served by his efficient and well trained corps of waiters. . . . The bill of fare, a well executed

specimen of the printer's art, announced two or three edible novelties, of which the principal were 'Monacasy Sauce' for the fish; 'Moravian Apple Cake'; 'Bethlehem Streusel' and 'Moravian Sugar Cake,' under the head of Pastry and Puddings.

The minutes of August 8, 1859, the Honorable John Cadwalader, United States District Judge for the Eastern District of Pennsylvania being in the chair, present an admirable abstract of an address by Vice-President Henry D. Gilpin upon Richard Rush. As this was the last public utterance of Mr. Gilpin, and no other notes than those on our minutes have been preserved, the writer feels justified in stating the substance of an unusual extemporaneous tribute to the memory of a venerable and distinguished member of the Society. Evidently, Mr. Gilpin was stirred by deep emotion. The speaker, like Rush, had been an Attorney General of the United States. An ardent friendship had bound them together for many years. Both had cultivated conspicuously the fields of history and letters. Both had enjoyed intimacies with the most distinguished statesmen and literary celebrities of the period.

Mr. Gilpin dwelt upon the personal qualities of Mr. Rush, his "long life of unsullied probity, great public usefulness, the cultivation and enjoyment of refined literary tastes, and a deportment sincere, generous, and urbane in every social relation." Continuing, he declared: "For me, a long vista is closed of generous friendship; of stores of knowledge poured out; of manly truths, mildly but resolutely communicated; of a social nature ever genial, and a hospitality simple, but ever generous." He recalled twenty years of visits to Sydenham, the ancestral home of Rush, "the low-walled ancestral cottage, shaded by its ancient trees," and he remembered how its rooms were adorned by books and works of art, and "especially the memorial gifts of friends, which added peculiar objects of association. The step and banister brought from Milton's house, and inserted in his own staircase; volumes with some kindly notice from Rogers or Campbell, or Hallam or Lyttleton; the pictures of statesmen and men of letters, both in Eng-

*Mr. Gilpin's
Address on
Richard
Rush*

land and in France, tokens of their regard; all these seemed justly to augment his natural desire to linger to the last in the homestead which he had inherited, until the progress of the vast encroaching city took from it the last vestige of rural tranquility. There must be many of those here assembled who can remember his venerable figure, as the summer evening closed, standing upon the last step of the cottage portico, to wave them his courteous adieu—the words of his conversation lingering on the ear of his retiring guest, as the wise and mild lessons of the aged Nestor dwelt in the heart of the parting Telemachus.”

*Sketch of
Richard
Rush*

The life of Richard Rush for half a century had been almost that of his country. Admitted to the Philadelphia bar, he became Attorney General of Pennsylvania. Marrying a lady of Maryland whose connections resided in Washington, he removed to that city, and soon attracting the eye of President Madison, he became in succession Controller of the Treasury, and Attorney General of the United States as the successor of William Pinckney. In the administration of John Quincy Adams he became Secretary of the Treasury, and his opinions on the great financial questions of the day led to a policy of protective duties. For eight years he represented America as her minister to England, and for two years to France. He pressed with tact and judgment, but with incessant activity the rights of the United States upon the northwest coast of America, sustaining his arguments with minute historical researches. He met the ambitions of the Holy Alliance, and enlisted the sympathies and aid of Mr. Canning in checking plans of European aggression in South America, thus paving the way for the resolute expression of the Monroe Doctrine. His entire diplomatic career was marked by great ability, discretion, vigilance and temper. His residence in France embraced a portion of the reign of Louis Philippe, the whole of the Republic; and part of that of Louis Napoleon as president. In each emergency through the erratic course of events, he conducted himself with promptness, resolution and sound judgment, retiring at last with increased distinction and untarnished honor.

His literary ability was superior and his style was based on habitual study of the best English authors. His mind was richly stored with minute knowledge of the men and times among which he lived. His judgment of individuals was free from prejudice. His memoranda and letters given to the world at two successive intervals disclosed in an agreeable narrative many of the incidents occurring during his residence in London.

Such was the biographical gem which sparkles amid the dry pages of the minutes of the Society.

We turn now to the Accession Book for the years 1858-1859, and find the following *notabilia*. *Important
Accessions*

Among the manuscripts were: Benjamin Franklin's autograph notes of his examination before Parliament, presented November 14, 1859, by Henry Wharton; the manuscript of the translation by Peter S. Du Ponceau of a memorial in French by Baron Steuben, addressed to General Washington, and a "Memoir of Baron Steuben" by Peter S. Du Ponceau, presented by his granddaughter, Miss Garesche; the manuscript of Joshua Humphreys on the origin of the American navy, presented by John Fanning Watson; and a manuscript of Joshua Humphreys, by A. A. Humphreys, his grandson. The "Muster Roll of the officers of the French army in America," and a copy of the minutes of a hearing in Chancery in the suit of Penn v. Lord Baltimore, were presented by Wm. B. Reed.

Joshua Francis Fisher, on February 14, 1859, made an important deposit of letter books, eight in number, of the proprietaries' correspondence, 1726-1750; the "Narrative of Sir William Keith's Coming to the Government of Pennsylvania, and his Conduct in it"; articles of agreement signed at New York, August 27, 1664, relative to future arrangements in that province under the English dominion; a brief to oppose the passing of a Charter to the Earl of Sutherland for the three lower counties, parts of Mr. Penn's estate in America; a copy of Sir Robert Raymond's report to the lords of the treasury on their reference of Hannah Penn's petition of April, 1721.

Of books, there were presented a *History of the Netherland Colonies in North America*, considered from a colonial point of view, by O. Van Rees, Counsellor at Law, Utrecht, Hol-

Books Presented land; *The Dutch Battle of the Baltic* by J. Watts De Peyster; *The Duke's Plan*, a description of the town of Marmados or New Amsterdam as it was seen in September, 1661, presented by George Henry Moore; a splendidly illuminated copy of *The Rosetta Stone*, just then published by students in the University of Pennsylvania. This work was a scientific analysis of the inscriptions on the ancient hieroglyphic monument, recently acquired by the British Museum, undertaken by a committee of the Philomathean Society of the University of Pennsylvania, and was ornamented with picturesque illuminations by Henry Morton, later the president of the Stevens' Institute at Hoboken. The achievement was deemed of such consequence that the renowned cosmographer, Alexander Von Humboldt wrote a letter, a copy of which is spread upon the minutes of this Society, declaring that it was "the first attempt at independent investigation offered by the literature of the new continent. . . . The results now obtained contribute to prove the correctness of the system of Champollion to which my brother William Humboldt first rendered justice in Germany." There were also the writings of Washington, edited in twelve volumes by Jared Sparks, and *A Discourse upon the Institution of Medical Schools in America* by John Morgan, M.D., 1765.

*Von Humboldt's
Notice of
the Rosetta
Stone*

Portraits Presented Of portraits, there was one of Americus Vesputius, copied by Charles Willson Peale from the original in the gallery of the Grand Duke of Tuscany at Florence, which had once been in Peale's Museum; an original portrait of Colonel Armand, the Marquis de la Rouerie; portraits in oil of Francis R. Shunk, Governor of Pennsylvania, and of James Ross, eminent as a lawyer, painted by James R. Lambdin, and one in oil by Christian Schuessele of Commodore Nicholas Biddle, lost in the frigate *Randolph*, who blew up his gallant ship and perished with all his men, rather than surrender to the British ship *Yarmouth*. There was presented also a view of Chestnut Street from Fifth St. to the Delaware River, by Max Rosenthal, interesting as being the first lithographic imitation of water colors executed in America.

Of curios, there was a burning glass formerly belonging to George Fox, the founder of Quakerism, brought from Eng-

land and presented by John Field, the owner of a line of packets to England from Philadelphia; and a wooden platter used by the Seventh Day Baptists at their love feasts at Ephrata, Lancaster County, Pennsylvania. *Curios*

Other accessions of all kinds occupy twenty-two folio pages of the Accession Book, thus marking the short term of Dr. Norris, compared with any two preceding years, as the most crowded with gifts. *Large Increase of Accessions*

On February 14, the death of William H. Prescott, the historian of Spanish America and kindred subjects, and on December 12, 1859, the death of Washington Irving, historian and essayist, were noticed by the Society with appropriate expressions of admiration for their virtues and talents. On February 13, 1860, the death of Thomas F. Gordon was noted, "the Historian of Pennsylvania, . . . whose talents and research were also industriously given to the illustration of the history of other States."

Thus closed a distinct literary and historical era.

The last appearance of Dr. Norris in the chair as president was on February 13, 1860. His constitutional term had expired, and he was ineligible for re-election. On the 9th of the preceding January Henry D. Gilpin had been nominated as his successor. It was the painful duty of Dr. Norris to announce the death of Mr. Gilpin on January 29, in the fifty-ninth year of his age. Eloquent and feeling speeches were made by Joseph R. Ingersoll and William B. Reed, and suitable resolutions were adopted. It was generally known that Mr. Gilpin had left a will bequeathing one-third of his residuary estate to the Society, subject to the life estates of his widow and mother. As the date of the will was unfortunately less than one calendar month prior to his death, the bequest failed under the law relating to legacies to public institutions. The story of the handsome manner in which, ten years later, a family arrangement was made by which this Society became the recipient of a large sum of money which furnished the basis of the present Gilpin Library Trust, must be reserved for its appropriate place in a future chapter. To avoid a repetition of matter, a sketch of Mr. Gilpin as one of the most notable benefactors of this Society must also be postponed.*

*Death of
Henry D.
Gilpin*

* See *post*, Chapter XXVIII of this volume.

CHAPTER XX

Administration of Joseph R. Ingersoll 1860-1868

The Ingersoll Ancestry — Biographical Sketch of Joseph R. Ingersoll — His Distinguished Public Career — Inaugural Address

*Election of
Joseph R.
Ingersoll as
President*

THE manner in which Joseph R. Ingersoll became the fifth president of the Society is tersely told in the following extract from the minutes of February 13, 1860.

The continuance in office of the President being restricted to two out of any three years, and the present officer being therefore ineligible, and owing to the decease of Mr. Gilpin, who had been nominated at the last meeting as the candidate for the office, it became necessary to fill the vacancy. As the laws require the nomination of candidates to be made in January, and prohibit new nominations except by unanimous consent, this was obtained, and Mr. Joseph R. Ingersoll was nominated for President, Mr. J. Francis Fisher for Vice President, and Mr. Charles J. Biddle for the Library Committee.

At this time Mr. Ingersoll was fast approaching his seventy-fourth birthday. It may have been the eloquence of his eulogium upon Mr. Gilpin, still tingling in the ears of his associates, that led to his unanimous election. It may have been a spontaneous recognition by far younger men, that in his long and distinguished career he best represented the traits and the prestige of his predecessors which had given dignity and influence to this Society, or it may have been his suave but impressive personality. It could not have been any particular service rendered to the association, for he had been but an inactive member. Apart from his securing for our shelves copies of the three journals of Braddock's expedition during

his ministry at the Court of St. James eight years before, he had manifested but little interest in our affairs.

Unlike his predecessors, he sprang from a New England stock. One Richard Inkersall of Bedfordshire, England, with his wife, six children and a younger brother, a lad of fourteen years, had settled at Salem, Massachusetts, as early as 1629. It was from the younger brother, John Ingersoll, that our president was descended. This ancestor was evidently of a restless disposition, and of varied fortunes. At the age of thirty he removed from Salem to Hartford, Connecticut; eleven years later he went to Woronoco, Massachusetts, now known as Westfield, and there became one of the "Seven Pillars" or "Foundation Men," who united to found a church. Thrice married, he was the father of fifteen children.

*The
Ingersoll
Family*

It was his youngest child, Jonathan Ingersoll, who, by his marriage with Sarah, the widow of David Miles of Milford, Connecticut, became the father of Jared Ingersoll, the Connecticut Stamp Tax collector of 1765, who was forced by the indignation of his fellow citizens to abjure the office. We are assured by President Timothy Dwight of Yale that "the office was urged upon him, and he appears to have accepted it, only from a desire to render its operations less burdensome and oppressive than they would probably be in the hands of a foreigner. The acceptance was unwise, but not accomplished with any design on his part against his country." It was to Jared Ingersoll's skill as a reporter that we are indebted for the preservation of the celebrated speech of Colonel Isaac Barré in defending in Parliament the rights and vindicating the character of the American colonists. In 1770, he received the appointment of Commissioner of Appeals or Commissary in Admiralty for the Middle Colonies. The next year he removed to Philadelphia and there held his court until the royal tribunal fell as the result of the Declaration of Independence. Just prior to the entrance of the British army into the colonial capital, after the battle of Brandywine in 1777, the Pemberton and Fisher brothers, Thomas Gilpin, Samuel Emlen and other prominent Quakers were exiled to Virginia; Benjamin Chew, James Hamilton and John Penn were ordered under arrest, while Judge Ingersoll, still remembered as a former Stamp

*Jared Ingersoll, the
Stamp Tax
Collector*

Tax collector, was directed by the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania to return to Connecticut.

*Jared Ingersoll, a
Leader of
the Philadelphia Bar* This Jared Ingersoll, by his first wife, Hannah Whiting, was the father of that Jared Ingersoll whose fame as one of the triumvirate of *Leaders of the Old Bar of Philadelphia* has been perpetuated by his pupil, Horace Binney. Born in New Haven, Connecticut, October 24, 1749, and a graduate of Yale College in 1766, he accompanied his father to Philadelphia in 1771, entering upon the study of the law under Joseph Reed, then the leader of the younger members of the bar. He was admitted to the Philadelphia bar April 26, 1773. Before the outbreak of hostilities between the mother country and the colonies, he went to London, as his preceptor had done, to round off his legal studies in the Middle Temple. Completing these, he spent two years in France, returning to Philadelphia in 1778.

His rise was rapid. In 1780-81, he was a member of the Continental Congress. In 1787, he was a member of the Federal Convention, and signed his name to the Constitution of the United States. In 1790, he was chosen a common councilman of the city of Philadelphia under the new city charter. From 1790 to 1799, and again from 1811 to 1816, he was the Attorney General of Pennsylvania. In the interim, 1798-1801, he served as city solicitor of Philadelphia, and for one year, 1800-1801, was United States Attorney for the Eastern District of Pennsylvania. The next year he declined the Federal district judgeship. In 1812, he was the unsuccessful candidate of the Federalists for the vice presidency of the United States. On March 19, 1821, under the commission of Governor Hiesler, he became the President Judge of the District Court of Philadelphia County, and died in office October 31, 1822.

Shortly after his admission to the bar, his studious habits won for him, in 1781, membership in the American Philosophical Society, and he acted as a councillor from 1782 to 1791. In politics, he was a strong Federalist, but of sufficient independence to serve as a member of a committee of fifteen, with Chief Justice McKean as chairman, to draft an address to President Washington in opposition to the ratification of the Jay Treaty, and to participate in a mass meeting at the State

House. He was on one occasion the host of Washington, then the President of the Federal Convention, who dined with him in his private residence on Market Street near Fourth, as is attested by an entry in Washington's diary, under date of May 19, 1787.

It was as a lawyer of surpassing prominence that he is best known to fame. The reports of Dallas, of Yeates, and of Binney, and the earlier volumes of Sergeant and Rawle are filled with his cases. It is sufficient to quote Mr. Binney's summary of his accomplishments:

His professional character, fairly and not partially described, is that of a very sound and well read lawyer, and a most consummate advocate. Though he was strong as a lawyer in learning, and in the accomplishments which assist the application of it, his great forte was at the bar, in the face of an intelligent jury, and second only to that was his power with the courts. In his full vigor, which continued for nearly twenty years after the year 1797, I regard him as having been, without comparison, the most efficient manager of an important jury trial among all the able men who were then at the bar of Philadelphia.

*Mr.
Binney's
Tribute*

Such a man was the father of Joseph Reed Ingersoll. His mother was Elizabeth Pettit, the daughter of Charles Pettit, a member of the Continental Congress and Commissary General of the Continental army, by his wife Sarah Reed, a sister of General and President Joseph Reed, whose career has been previously delineated.*

With a father who had helped to frame the Constitution of the nation, and a mother whose parents had conspicuously shared the dangers and privations of the Revolution there could be but little doubt among the augurs, had they been present on June 14, 1786, that Joseph Reed Ingersoll, born on that day as his father records "on the rising of the sun," the youngest of four sons, would acquit himself honorably in the public

*Sketch of
Joseph R.
Ingersoll*

* *Ante*, Chapter XV.

service. Graduating from Princeton College in 1804 with the first honors of his class, and reading law "with great assiduity" in his father's office, he was admitted to the Philadelphia bar, June 2, 1807. While accumulating a practice, his gifts as a speaker led to numerous engagements to deliver discourses in several universities in the Eastern and Middle states, some of which were published and were once well known.

At the outbreak of the War of 1812, of which his eldest brother, Charles Jared Ingersoll was, as we have seen,* the historian, he became one of the organizers of the celebrated State Fencibles. In 1814, he entered the field as captain of the second company of Washington Guards. In September of that year, he was promoted to the rank of major of the regiment then commanded by Colonel Clement C. Biddle.

In 1823, he was chosen President of the Common Council of Philadelphia, and in 1832, President of Select Council. In 1834, he became a member of Congress serving until 1837.

*In City
Councils*

After an interval of six years, he was again chosen, and by successive re-elections, filled the office from 1843 to 1849. A leader of the Whigs of his day, and devoted to the Constitutional principles of his father, he found himself during two congressional terms opposed to his oldest brother, Charles J.

In Congress

Ingersoll, who also represented a Philadelphia district. The contrast between the brothers was striking. Charles was a man of daring and aggressive spirit, who, as early as 1809, had written *Inchiquin* in vindication of American character, politics, literature and science against English sneers and slanders, and whose radicalism did not hesitate to charge Daniel Webster, as Secretary of State, with a misuse of public funds. Joseph was a man of milder speech and methods, but none the less positive in his views. He was the author of the minority report of the Committee of Ways and Means against the assumption of state debts, and an issue of two hundred millions of United States bonds for distribution among the states, but declared himself in favor of the distribution of the surplus money in the Treasury of the United States among the several states for the purposes of internal improvement and education. He opposed the repeal of the tariff of 1842. He spoke against the annexation

* *Ante*, Chapter XVII.

of Texas. He opposed the sub-treasury Act of 1849, and, on the Oregon question, delivered an earnest and masterly speech against the "fifty-four-forty or fight" doctrine, declaring himself in favor of an amicable adjustment of a dangerous controversy. He then became the chairman of the judiciary committee of the House, manifesting untiring industry and marked ability in the discharge of his duties.* Throughout his congressional career, he was at all times a sturdy supporter of Henry Clay.

In 1850, he declined a seat in the Cabinet as Secretary of the Navy. From 1852 to 1853, he represented the United States with distinction at the Court of St. James, under the appointment of President Fillmore, negotiating two treaties of importance, one of them adjusting with finality the conflicting claims of citizens or subjects, arising subsequent to the Peace of Ghent, December 24, 1814. This was his last public service.

*Declines a
Cabinet
Seat*

In the intellectual and educational life of Philadelphia he was prominent, serving as a trustee of the University of Pennsylvania from 1822 to 1856; becoming a member of the American Philosophical Society in 1825. For some years, he was president of the Academy of Fine Arts. In 1829, he became the president of the Pennsylvania Horticultural Society; in 1833, he aided in the establishment of the Philadelphia Club, and served as Vice Chancellor for nine years, 1845 to 1854, of the Law Association of Philadelphia and as Chancellor from 1854 to 1857. In the affairs of the Protestant Episcopal Church he was long a leader, being one of the founders, in 1822, of St. Stephen's Church, and a frequent delegate to the diocesan and general conventions. The degrees of LL.D. and D.C.L. were repeatedly conferred upon him by literary and scientific institutions.

*Activities
in Philadel-
phia*

Mr. David Paul Brown, who was his pupil in the law, has called him "the Cicero of the American Bar, and he may be truly said to be one of Plutarch's men, nay, if I have read his

* Eulogium on the life and character of Joseph Reed Ingersoll before The Historical Society of Pennsylvania by David Paul Brown, September 28, 1869. See also a sketch by Frank Willing Leach, Esq., and particularly an obituary notice read before the American Philosophical Society, December 4, 1868, by George Sharswood. *The Life of Charles Jared Ingersoll* has been well written by his grandson, Wm. M. Meigs, Philadelphia, 1897.

David Paul Brown's Account of Joseph R. Ingersoll at the Bar annals rightly, one of the noblest of them." He adds: "For thirty years the history of his life was the history of the bar. He was the cynosure of all eyes, the observed of all observers." It is true that Mr. Brown tempers this by stating: "We are aware that it has been said, that with all his accomplishments, he was not a very profound lawyer," and adds that "he was not what you would call a keen or subtle lawyer, who may have a sharp *wedge*, but no *maul* to drive it." Mr. Peter McCall, also one of his pupils, at the Bar Meeting in 1868, paid him this tribute: "In 1811, you find his name in the reports. From 3rd Binney down to Barr you find the evidence of his industry and learning. His compeers at the bar were Chauncey and Binney, and he ranked with them. He might well be called the Erskine of our bar. He was a well read lawyer, but in a court he displayed his tact and learning best. His style of speaking was more ornate and polished than suits the present day, but he never sacrificed substance to show. He was a practical lawyer, painstaking and laborious in his preparation of cases."

Other Estimates Horatio Hubbell, who had been a fellow student, said, at the same meeting, that he "had never seen the vigor and ability excelled which the deceased exhibited on all occasions. He began his practice in 1805, and may be said to have wound it up in 1835. He gave no attention to politics until he had secured a competency, and then in 1835, he responded to the calls of his fellow citizens, and entered the National Legislature."

Judge Cadwalader said: "The deceased had been born in a legal atmosphere. By nature and art he became a cultivated orator; his voice the most melodious, his utterance the most extraordinary. But his distinguishing trait was energy. This energy was the duty of a faithful advocate. Litigants are not always best served when the advocate adds to his reputation before the bench and bar. The litigant who had Mr. Ingersoll for advocate never had cause for regret."

Judge Sharswood, then a Justice of the Supreme Court, and also a pupil more than forty years before, referred to "the immense practice enjoyed by Mr. Ingersoll in the height of

his fame. His rooms were always crowded with clients, and there was scarcely a day when he was not engaged in trying a cause in some of the courts. Yet he was never compelled to ask for a continuance. This was due to his methodical habits which enabled him to succeed with so much business. He exercised a watchful care over his students, examining them regularly every fortnight, and encouraging them to come to him with their doubts and difficulties. In this way he secured not only their confidence and respect, but their love and affection." His diary shows that more than fifty-five men, some of them of later eminence, had studied law under his direction.

We have stated the testimony of Mr. Ingersoll's contemporaries. The present writer, from conversations with the leaders of the bar in the early seventies—Mr. Eli K. Price, Mr. William M. Tilghman, Mr. McMurtrie and Mr. George W. Biddle—derived the distinct impression that Mr. Ingersoll was a fine example of a vanished type of advocate, ornate, persuasive, sentimental, discursive, and mellifluous, rather than profound; that in the higher mathematics of the law he was not distinguished; that his success was due rather to the manner than to the matter of his arguments. He belonged to the school of William Wirt rather than that of Daniel Webster. His arguments as preserved are far more temperamental than those of Binney and Sergeant or even Joseph Hopkinson. It is but fair to add that the writer's informants were scarcely qualified to speak from personal impressions of exertions which had largely ceased before they themselves had become conspicuous in the forum, but they were able to transmit the sentiments of their seniors.

In person, Mr. Ingersoll was somewhat above the medium height, of light complexion, bright blue eyes, auburn hair, small features, and of a slender, lithe and active frame. He was neat in dress, and placid in temper; of a fine poetical taste, writing but little, yet reading much.*

*Mr.
Ingersoll's
Personal
Appearance*

It was in the quiet and lonely evening of his life that he was summoned to the service of this Society. He had been bereft of

* His portrait in oil, owned by this Society, was painted by J. Augustus Beck.

*An Inactive
President
Due to Age*

both wife and children, and his health had been long impaired. Activity and energetic service to this Society could not have been reasonably expected of Mr. Ingersoll. During the eight years of his presidency, he occupied the chair at meetings of the Society but eleven times, and was present at but two meetings of the Executive Committee or Council. Elected as president in February, 1860, and again in February, 1861, he did not appear before either body until March of 1861, at which time he delivered his inaugural address, which was printed *in extenso* in the *North American* and *United States Gazette* of March 12, 1861.

*Ingersoll's
Inaugural
Address*

Although fluent, and at times glowing, it was loosely put together and was not controlled by a dominant thought. It lacked the careful preparation, intense coherence, and relevancy to the occasion which so strongly marked the inaugural addresses of William Rawle and Peter S. Du Ponceau. It rambled over the entire field of Colonial and Revolutionary history from the enterprise of Raleigh, the marriage of Pocahontas to Rolfe, the founding of New England, the exploits of Paul Jones, the services of Esther Reed, and the victory of "Old Ironsides" over the *Guerriere*, to the rebuke by Washington of the Newburg addresses. There was no development of a theme, no logical connection between brilliant passages, no chronological sequence. He was evidently depressed by prevailing unhappy conditions:

The republic of these United States presents itself with impressions of sadness for the past, and scarcely a defined prospect of any kind for the future. All that is not certain gloom is gloomy uncertainty, and even that darkness is visible. . . . A nation's history, comparatively brief in duration, has been full of great events. A well arranged structure, of vast proportions and ample strength, has been mutilated, and a broken monument is expected to stand in its stead. On the magnificent front of the one was inscribed by our fathers the cheering inscription—*Esto perpetua!* in letters of brightness; and

we look back at the forgotten pledge. At the base of the other *Fuit Ilium!* is read in the darkest colors; and we scarcely venture to look forward lest we might fancy we beheld the period described by the historian which would lead us to 'suspect that war, pestilence and famine had consumed in a few years, the moiety of the human species.' Each returning sunrise may light up new dangers to the country.

Yet he did not despair. After alluding to "discordant national elements which have caused blood to flow over the fairest fields of history," he exclaimed: "These will have their hour; and physical and moral influences must resume their sway."

He had a broad but impracticable view for administrative purposes of the aims of this Society. In addressing the members as to their responsibilities, he said:

You have especially the suggestion of measures, communication of knowledge, discovery of hidden or obscure principles and facts, developments of universal experience, faithful study of all that the book of wisdom can reveal, correction of errors which may dazzle by their brilliancy or novelty, or have become venerable by the lapse of time, exposure and defeat of prejudice, however deeply rooted or diffused—and unveiling truth, which above all is the essence of history in all its features, whether of beauty or the reverse: these are some of the attributes of the body of this Society. Its strength and faculties are there. The wide range of the annals of the human race is its pasture and hunting ground. All the arts and all the sciences are within its scope. Every region that is or ever was occupied or traversed by civilized or savage man, belongs to its geography. Every star that shines in planetary magnificence, or twinkles dimly in remotest space is in study and sublime

*His View
of the Aims
of History*

research a portion of its collected and treasured astronomy. Without a record knowledge is short-lived and of little use. Nothing is preserved, and everything is imperfectly known and speedily lost. That record is History. Nothing is too lofty for its reach, too deep for its penetration, too extensive for its embrace, too obscure for its microscopic gaze.

Truly an exalted, but over-ambitious plan for practical fulfilment.

CHAPTER XXI

Ingersoll Administration A Period of Varying Experiences

Blighting Effect of the Civil War on the Society — Finances of the Society — Amendment to the Constitution — Samuel Breck — His Services to the Society — Bradford Bi-centennial

WHILE under the impetus of the ambitious programme which Mr. Ingersoll had delineated with such captivating but unworldly eloquence, he took the chair the following month, on April 8, 1861, and, suspending the regular order of business, introduced to "a large number of ladies and gentlemen," the Rev. Philip Schaff of Mercersburg, who read a paper on the "History of Involuntary Servitude among the nations of Asia and Europe," giving a "clear and graphic account of Oriental, Jewish, Greek, Roman and Teutonic slavery, and its relation to society and government," discussing at length the introduction of Christianity, and the position which the Savior and Apostles maintained regarding this institution. He demonstrated that the Christian mode of dealing with this difficult problem was the most just and beneficial, as well as the most effective. He confined himself to the moral and historical aspects of the question and abstained from direct allusions to the existing crisis in our national affairs. Four days later, the flag of the United States, floating above Fort Sumter, was fired upon, and four years of civil war ensued.

The official minutes of both the Society and Executive Committee prior to the battle of Gettysburg contain but little suggestive of the agony of this tremendous epoch in history. The blighting effects upon the fortunes of the Society were immediately apparent. The President did not reappear until December, and then met but eight members, whom he addressed, at the request of Horatio Gates Jones, on the "state of the country; the inactivity, demoralization, and consequent ill success of the army, and the disastrous and alarming condi-

A Clergyman's View of Slavery

The Blighting Effects of the Civil War

tion of the Finances." The intervening stated meetings of the Society in May, June, and October were attended by but three members, of whom the librarian, Townsend Ward, alone was constant.

In January, 1862, ten members appeared, the president being absent, but the only matters discussed were Christopher Sauer's almanacs and the reports of the treasurer, and those of the trustees of the Binding Fund and the Publication Fund. The first showed total receipts for the year of \$1,892.71. Payments of \$2,143.19, and a balance due the treasurer of \$250.48. The Binding Fund, the total principal of which was \$1,110, had a cash balance of \$9.50, and the Publication Fund was overdrawn \$530.08. In February, there was a rally. The president was in the chair, greeted by twenty-five members. The annual election was held, all the incumbents for two years past being re-elected without visible opposition. The only report presented was that of the librarian, who made the cheering announcement that the Society had received during the year "eighteen hundred volumes, six hundred pamphlets, eight portraits, a number of manuscripts and coins and of Japanese curiosities and American Indian dresses and accoutrements." Thus the Society received more books and pictures in the past year than during the first twenty-five years of its existence. The treasurer made no report, but the librarian undertook to say that the receipts were "rather more than twelve hundred dollars, all of which has been absorbed in necessary expenses; but it is proper to state that the value of the donations received in the same interval is more than three thousand dollars." He then proceeded to argue that the real proportion of expenditure to receipt was about one-fourth, a proportion that examination would show to be much smaller than in many other institutions. He then adroitly descanted on the value of the correspondence of Professor Roehig, in behalf of the Society, with the Imperial Academy of Sciences of St. Petersburg and with learned men in Siberia and Tartary on the Turkish language; and on the acquisition of a concordance in Arabic to the *Koran*, all of which he asserted were

A Rally

*Treasury
Conditions*

highly valuable contributions to the philological department of the Society.

The unusually large assemblage then dispersed, the president not again appearing for a whole year, the attendance at the intervening meetings numbering 11, 9, 8, 7, 5, 5, 7, 5, the honors of the chair being shared by Dr. B. H. Coates, one of the founders of the Society, Dr. Geo. H. Burgin, William Duane, and Charles H. Hutchinson. During the year, the constitution was amended so as to remove the restriction to two successive years of service by any incumbent of the office of president, and restore indefinite eligibility.*

*Amendment
of the Con-
stitution of
the Society*

The meeting of January, 1863, was of old time interest. Joshua Francis Fisher, who had been absent from the Council board as well as from the Society for more than two years, although annually elected as a vice-president, occupied the chair. Mr. Ingersoll was present, but came not to preside but to deliver a *Memoir of the late Samuel Breck, Vice-President of The Historical Society of Pennsylvania*. It was an admirable performance, clear in narrative, chaste in style, free from the florid rhetoric so common to the mortuary oratory of that day, and infinitely superior in arrangement and simplicity to the grandiloquent eulogium pronounced upon Mr. Ingersoll himself six years later by David Paul Brown, who apostrophised friendship, eternal life, motherhood, the legal profession, and the reward of heaven to the distraction of the present day reader, and to the frequent neglect of his real subject.

*Mr. Ingersoll's
Memoir of
Samuel
Breck*

Mr. Ingersoll's task, to use his own words, was to present "the memorial of an excellent man, who after a long and estimable career, has been withdrawn from his sphere of usefulness." Mr. Breck had left a diary or body of recollections,† filling about a dozen closely written volumes, which were freely drawn upon and greatly aided in the preparation of the memoir. The services of Mr. Breck to this Society as its practical rescuer in the dark days of 1838,‡ his long membership, be-

* *Ante*, Chapter XVII.

† This autobiography was edited by H. E. Scudder of Cambridge, Mass., and published by Porter & Coates in Philadelphia, 1877.

‡ See *ante*, Chapter XIII.

ginning in 1825 and terminating only with his death in 1862, and the official relations which he sustained to its growth, quite aside from the intrinsically interesting incidents of a life prolonged for more than ninety-one years, justify an abstract of Mr. Ingersoll's address. It furnishes a picture of the times of which Mr. Breck was a spectator, and a modest but influential actor.

*Ingersoll's
Sketch of
Mr. Breck*

Mr. Breck was born in Boston, July 17, 1771, of ancient English stock, whose family name was of Saxon origin, signifying a bruise, or a gap in a hedge. He died August 31, 1862, having passed into his ninety-second year by one month and fourteen days. Singularly enough, as he himself records, his parents of Puritan strain sent him, a lad but eleven years and six months old, to the College of Soreze, in lower Languedoc, under the administration of Benedictine monks, placing him in charge of Marquis de Traversé, commander of the French frigate *Iris*, which departed from Boston on December 24, 1782. Only his maternal grandmother, "who belonged to the old Colonial and intolerant sect of Presbyterians," objected. She refused to kiss him when he left home, because he was going to a popish country. He was cordially received at the college. Lay teachers of ability assisted the monks and taught "everything fitted to give a solid education, intermixed with all the variety of ornamental and pleasing instruction." Thus, besides the ancient and modern languages and exact sciences, drawing, music, dancing, riding, fencing and military exercises were a part of his daily occupation.

After more than four years and a half of absence, he returned to Boston in 1787, and found the city crowded with well educated Frenchmen, driven there by the disturbances in St. Domingo. This made him still more closely acquainted with the habits and accustomed to the politeness of a people the most polished and refined. All through his life, he was noted for the charm of his manners and the ease of his deportment. While abroad he was a good Roman Catholic, attending mass, confessing and communicating, but two years after his return, he records that in 1789 his "zeal for the Pope's Church has cooled off, and he was now again a Protestant." He lived for

many years and died a communicant of the Episcopal Church, being an active member of the vestry of St. Luke's, Philadelphia.

On a journey from Havre to Lyons in a French packet, he met among other passengers the redoubted Paul Jones, then an admiral in the Russian service, and wearing several crosses at his button holes. In 1790, he went to Europe for a second time, remaining abroad for a year. For a long time he spoke English with a foreign accent. Inclining to a mercantile life, he was placed at the age of eighteen in a counting-house, and one hundred guineas were paid by his father for his instruction. Mr. Breck declares that the lessons taught in reference to trade "were of the most immoral character, owing chiefly to the disturbed and feeble state of the old confederative government and in execution of the revenue laws of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts." Frauds on the revenue were common, goods were secreted, and smuggling encouraged. "The laws were a dead letter; the States, collectively and individually, were bankrupt; the public debts at ten or twelve dollars for a hundred! Each State was pulling against the other; and the fruit of our seven years' war for independence did not then appear to be worth gathering." These evils were corrected and a wholesome change effected by the wisdom of the fathers in adopting the Constitution of the United States, "that excellent Constitution," as Mr. Breck calls it, which "carried this great nation, in the course of forty years, from a fearful state of poverty and disorder, to high station and unrivalled prosperity."

*Sketch of
Breck Con-
tinued*

Receiving from his father a capital of ten thousand dollars, he came to Philadelphia, in December, 1792, and the name of Samuel Breck, "Merchant, South Water, below Walnut," first appeared in the Philadelphia *Directory* of 1794-5. The father and mother of Mr. Breck accompanied him to Philadelphia, driven from Boston as the "Recollections" state by a system of taxation "the most iniquitous imaginable," rating inhabitants for watch where there were no watchmen; for lighting streets where there were no lamps, guessing at a man's wealth from his liberality to strangers, while rich misers, keeping

their money out of circulation, were scarcely taxed at all. Then too, Philadelphia was at that time the seat of the federal government, attracting the most refined society in the union. The climate also was more moderate, and taxes amounted only to "the Boston collectors' commissions."

Passing through the scourge of the yellow fever, in 1793, unharmed, the family dwelt on the north side of Market Street, midway between Eighth and Ninth, and their home became the scene of hospitality to the French émigrés. Mr. Breck writes that he had seen assembled at his father's of an evening, in a social way, "the three Princes of Orleans, one of whom became King Louis Philippe; Talleyrand, and his inseparable companion, Beaumez, Volney, and . . . the Duke of Liancourt, . . . Talon, a jurist of great eminence in the Parliamentary Courts of Louis XVI." The intimacy of Mr. Breck with distinguished Frenchmen was not without its effect on the possessions of this Society. It was due to that friendship that we owe the gift of King Louis Philippe which has been already noted.*

*Sketch of
Breck
Continued*

Mr. Breck was far more than a successful merchant. He was a member of the once famous Macpherson's Blues, formed originally to meet the exigencies of the Whiskey Insurrection, and later tendering its services to President Madison prior to the War of 1812. For two years he was a member of Congress, 1823-1825, and he alone of all the Pennsylvania delegation cast his vote for John Quincy Adams when the choice of President of the United States was thrown for the first and only time in our history into Congress. He had published as early as 1818, two editions of a *Sketch of the Internal Improvements already made by Pennsylvania*, with observations upon her physical and fiscal means for their extension, particularly as they had reference to the future growth and prosperity of Philadelphia; illustrated by a map of Pennsylvania. As a result he became a member of the state senate, and made a speech, in February, 1821, in favor of the total extinction of slavery in Pennsylvania. Again, as a member of the same senate, in 1833, he made a careful report, as one of a committee, exposing an error in the census of 1830, which had stated an

*Public Serv-
ices of
Samuel
Breck*

* See *ante*, Chapter XII.

increase in the number of slaves between 1820 and 1830, whereas there had been a large decrease, and thus exonerated the state from the stigma of fostering in her bosom a nursery of slaves.

He was an author of papers read before this Society. He became a member in 1825, and two years later presented to the Council an "Historical Anecdote of John Harris," the founder of Harrisburg, preserving accurate information of the circumstances attending the rescue of Harris from burning by the Indians beneath the very mulberry tree at the foot of which Harris now lies buried, a spot now within the corporate limits of our state capital. In Mr. Breck's paper upon George Whitefield, published in our *Collections*, we find confirmatory evidence of the story of Franklin's emptying his pockets of a handful of copper, three or four silver dollars and five pistoles in gold, as he melted beneath the eloquence of the great preacher, although he had at first resolved to give nothing.

*Addresses
of Mr.
Breck*

In 1828, Mr. Breck delivered an address commemorative of Judge Richard Peters before the Blockley and Merion Agricultural Society; in 1843, he presented to the American Philosophical Society a most important *Historical Sketch of Continental Paper Money*; in 1845, as president of the Athenaeum, he delivered an address at the laying of the cornerstone of the New Hall, from which we have already quoted a memorable passage.*

He was a trustee of the University of Pennsylvania; the president of the institution for the blind; a director of the Philadelphia, Wilmington and Baltimore Railroad Company, and a member of the Common Council of Philadelphia. He was interested in farming, in horticulture and in botany, and his gardens at "Sweet Briar," his residence for thirty-eight years, now in Fairmount Park, added beauty to the sylvan charms of the west bank of the Schuylkill. He was one of the earliest promoters of the manufacture of sugar from the beet root, amused himself with microscopical investigations, and, in 1860, he brought out an abridged history of the Popes, from Saint Peter to Pius IX, variously and richly adorned and

* *Ante.*

embellished with handsome and tasteful drawings executed by himself with no mean artistic skill.

*Mr. Breck's
Services to
the Society*

His services to this Society were notable. He filled the office of councillor from 1836 to 1842, and of vice-president from 1859 to 1862. He gave books and pamphlets, and bequeathed to us the larger part of his library. Never should it be forgotten that in 1838, he saved this institution, with the aid of John Vaughan and J. Fisher Leaming, from dissolution. His character was summed up by Mr. Ingersoll as follows:

He was correct in deportment and honorable in conduct; of amiable temper and lively and affectionate feelings; quick in perception, and of tenacious memory and sound judgment; industrious when he had any thing particular to do, and looking out for it when he had not; of strict punctuality; a good christian and husband, father, neighbor and friend, and a patriotic citizen; domestic in habit and temperate in living—yet well inclined to social intercourse.

Age did not chill the fervor of his patriotism. Mr. Ingersoll related this incident:

*Patriotism
of Mr.
Breck*

Soon after the attack on Fort Sumter, he [Mr. Breck] was at a concert of the Pupils of this Institution [the institution of the blind], and occupied a seat on the platform. He here availed himself of an opportunity, as he had done on former occasions, to manifest his deep interest in the events that have been crowded into the months elapsed since the opening of the Southern rebellion. At the close of the concert a call was made for the 'Star Spangled Banner,' and it was sung with great spirit. At the last chorus Mr. Breck sprang up in view of the audience, (about 700 persons,) and waving his hat over his head, called for three cheers for 'the Union and the Constitution, *one and indivisible,*' adding, 'I was a man when they were

formed, and God forbid that I should live to witness their downfall.' The cheers were given with *three times three*, to the great wonderment of the blind pupils, who knew not what it all meant. This relation is given by a gentleman who was present.

Mr. Ingersoll presided at the meeting in April, 1863, and at two meetings in May, the second being specially called to accept an invitation from the New York Historical Society to participate in the commemoration of the two hundredth anniversary of the birthday of William Bradford, who introduced the art of printing into the Middle Colonies of British America, the celebration to take place on the 20th of May of that year. The occasion was thought to be of such importance, that the President appointed seven special delegates—Horatio Gates Jones, Charles S. Bradford, William Bradford, Jacob B. Ritter, Colonel Robert Carr, John A. McAllister, Samuel L. Smedley—to represent this Society, which had been signally honored by the choice by the New York Society of our fellow member, John William Wallace, as the special orator of the day.*

Bi-Centennial Birthday of William Bradford, Printer, Celebrated in New York

Seven months passed with Mr. Ingersoll absent from the chair. In December, 1863, he appeared to receive, through the state department at Washington, a verbatim copy, made by Joseph Lemuel Chester, Esquire, of London, of the original Charter of Liberties for Pennsylvania, dated April 25, 1682, granted by William Penn to the Province of Pennsylvania, with facsimiles of William Penn's autograph and the autographs of the witnesses which had not theretofore been published, the original being owned by Richard Almack, Esquire, of Melford in the county of Suffolk, England.†

* The oration of Mr. Wallace is noticed in *post*, Vol. I, Chapter XXIV.

† This is of interest as indicating the ownership in 1863 of the original Charter, which was subsequently acquired by Dr. Richard Maris, of Philadelphia, and later by George C. Thomas, from whose executors it was purchased by public subscription, through the patriotic agency of the *Public Ledger*, for the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania. It is now in the state capitol at Harrisburg.

*Successive
Elections of
Mr. Ingersoll as
President*

Although elected president in February, 1864, 1865, 1866, 1867 and 1868, Mr. Ingersoll appeared but once, in March, 1865. This was his last appearance. It is evident that lack of interest was not responsible for his frequent absences for a letter is preserved upon the minutes of the Society which reads as follows:

Philadelphia, Feb. 12, 1864.

Dear Sir

I am highly honored by the fact communicated in your letter of the 10th Instant. The state of my health has rendered too uncertain my attendance heretofore at the meetings of the Historical Society. While I regret that such should have been the case in the past, I will hope to correct the evil in the future.

The prosperity of the Society has my best wishes, as well as that of all its members; and its promotion will not be without my earnest efforts.

With sincere respect and regard,

Your faithful servant,

J. R. Ingersoll.

Horatio Gates Jones, Cor. Secy.

Clearly, it was not due to indifference to the interests of those who had annually honored and continued to honor him, that Mr. Ingersoll absented himself from the meetings both of the Society and the Executive Committee. The explanation was concisely stated, on the announcement of his death, by Colonel J. Ross Snowden, corresponding secretary, in words which reveal causes which retarded the growth of the Society, quite beside the feebleness of an aged president:

*Colonel
Snowden's
Explanation
of Absences*

Advancing years, with its physical infirmities, in the latter period of his life, prevented him from regularly occupying the President's chair. And I may say here that the location of the Society's rooms, in the third story of a high building [the Athenaeum] at the top of 72 steps,

served to prevent his attendance, and that of many other honored members—an inconvenience which will continue to operate against the interests and usefulness of the Society until a more suitable and secure building, in an appropriate location, is obtained. Nevertheless, Mr. Ingersoll took a deep interest in the proceedings and operations of the Society, and occasionally attended its meetings. Moreover, he contributed with liberality to its funds.

CHAPTER XXII

Ingersoll Administration

The Active Vice-Presidency of Dr. B. H. Coates — The Period of the Civil War — Volume VII Memoirs of the Society — Record of the Court at Upland — Denny's Journal — Revisions of Constitution — Increase in Membership — Awakening Effects of Battle of Gettysburg — Establishment of National Cemetery Due to Action of Society — The Sanitary Fair — Gifts — Addresses — Wallace's Statement of Duty of the Society — The Death of Lincoln — Resolutions of the Society — A Notable Paper

Benjamin H. Coates Active as a Vice-President FOR six years the duties of the President were performed almost continuously by Vice-President B. H. Coates, one of the seven founders. Except in name, the period between 1862 and 1868 might justly be termed a Coates administration, relieved by the fitful appearances of Mr. Ingersoll. Out of fifty-seven meetings of the Society, Dr. Coates was present at forty-five, and presided at thirty-seven. Out of eighty meetings of the Executive Committee, Dr. Coates was present at sixty-two and presided fifty-three times.

Volume VII of the Memoirs of the Society As stated in a preceding chapter,* an important publication was made in 1860, the credit for which really belongs to the Norris administration, certainly so far as full preparation for the printer was concerned. It constitutes Volume VII of the *Memoirs* of this Society, and was the third volume issued by the Publication Fund established in 1854, under the Sergeant administration. It consisted of two parts, the first presented "The Record of the Court at Upland, in Pennsylvania, 1676 to 1681." Extracts had been previously published by Mr. Watson, and by Mr. Hazard in their annals, but the full text of the document was supplied by Doctor J. Dickinson Logan, and made the subject of a learned and searching study by way of introduction, by Edward Armstrong as editor. It is not too much to say that no serious student of the Dutch and Swedish periods of settlement upon the Delaware, prior to the English supremacy of 1674, can afford to ignore Mr. Armstrong's in-

Record of the Court at Upland

* *Ante*, Vol. I, Chapter XX.



Philadelphia Craftsmanship
Silver tankard, the work of John Nys

troduction. Prior to the recent appearance of the monumental work by Professor Amandus Johnson of the University of Pennsylvania, it stood unmatched in learning and in accuracy, although compressed into less than 30 pages. The record itself occupies 168 pages, carefully annotated in a manner useful alike to the historian, the genealogist, and the jurist. All existing authorities then known were exhausted. It was the last and crowning work of Mr. Armstrong, who served the Society as recording secretary from 1843 to 1853, and as a member of the Executive Council from 1853 to 1866.

The remaining pages of the volume, 289 in number, contain the military journal of Major Ebenezer Denny, an officer in the Revolutionary and Indian wars, with an appendix, in illustration of the journal, presenting the letters of his commander, General Josiah Harmar, and a glossary or vocabulary of words in use with the Delaware and Shawnee Indians made by Major Denny when at Fort McIntosh. The journal was preceded by a memoir of Major Denny, written by his son, Doctor William H. Denny of Pittsburgh. This record of the defeat of St. Clair was highly commended by that accomplished lawyer, William M. Meredith, who, in a letter to Benjamin Rush, Esq., recalled that his father, then a youth of nineteen, was present at General Harmar's camp when Major Denny suddenly entered, "travel-stained, worn and exhausted, and by his earnest and soldier-like narration of the battle, defeat and massacre, and description of the sufferings to which the inhabitants of the frontier were thereby exposed" made a profound impression. The volume is embellished by an excellent steel engraving of a miniature of Major Denny, and by a mezzotint by John Sartain of a painting of Josiah Harmar by Raphael Peale.

*Denny's
Military
Journal*

The entire volume of 498 pages was prepared for the press and superintended in the printing by J. B. Lippincott & Co. by Edward Armstrong, who did not neglect a satisfactory index to both parts of a work which was an honor to a struggling Society, in a period of great depression.

Having fully reviewed Mr. Ingersoll's share, both as President and member, in the work of the Society, we turn to the administrative record of the Executive Committee, as the

The Work of the Executive Committee of the Society governing body was known from 1848 to 1872. The blighting effect upon it of the dark conditions in our national, state and municipal affairs is unmistakable. It was inevitable, in the absence of the president and the prevailing languor in the Society at large, that there should be a visible blending of the functions of the Society with those of the Executive Committee in preserving the life of the institution.

At the February meeting of the Committee in 1860, four members of the Committee "and a large number of members of the Society" being present, Captain William F. Lynch, U. S. N., was introduced and read a paper entitled "The Commerce of the East and its probable effect on the great future of the Holy Land." Colonel Charles J. Biddle was in the chair, and eight new members were elected. A letter was received from the executors of the late Henry D. Gilpin, with a copy of his will, officially announcing the failure of his munificent gift to the Society of one-third of his large estate, because of the death of the testator within a calendar month of the date of the will.

*Townsend
Ward Car-
ries the
Burden*

In March, but four members were present, who appointed two of their number as a special committee to confer with the Gilpin executors, and then solemnly adjourned. In April, there was no meeting. In May, the librarian, Townsend Ward, alone was present. Undaunted by solitude, he organized the meeting, read the minutes of the preceding one, reported that the Building Fund then amounted to more than \$5000, that the Sergeant legacy of \$100 would soon be paid, and resolved that, when paid, it should be made a part of the permanent fund. He then boldly cast a ballot for the election of twenty-seven new members, and adjourned the meeting. In June, Mr. Ward, again alone, read and approved the minutes of the preceding meeting, and elected a new member. In July, there was no meeting. In August, three members being present, of whom Ward was one, the acts of Mr. Ward were approved. In September, the indefatigable librarian, who was being overwhelmed with gifts of books and pamphlets for which there was but little space, persuaded the treasurer, Morris, and committeemen Jordan and Duane to rent an additional room from the Athenaeum at \$50 per annum, satisfying the

landlord by a mutual exchange of duplicate newspapers. At the same time Edward H. Ward, son of the Librarian, was appointed assistant to the librarian at a salary of \$100 a year. Later this appointment was revoked.

The October, November, and December meetings, 1860, were attended by but three or four members, and thirteen new names were added to the roll. The December meeting of the Society was addressed by Mr. Charles Carter Lee, a son of "Light Horse Harry Lee," who read a paper entitled a "Defence of General Charles Lee against the Charge of Treason." It was a singularly inopportune performance. In 1861, in January and February, three members, inclusive of Ward, faced a considerable overdraft of income, because of the payment by a confiding treasurer of arrears of salary of \$850 due to the librarian. Distinction was added to the membership by the election of the renowned veterans, General Winfield Scott, Admiral Charles Stewart, Commodore George C. Read and Professor Robert H. Hare.

*A Defense
of General
Charles Lee*

From March to December, 1861, there was complete suspension, but in the last named month, Charles H. Hutchinson aided Townsend Ward in electing thirty new members. Not until February, 1862, was there a rally, and then, ten members being present, Doctor B. H. Coates was elected chairman of the Executive Committee. The record of Doctor Coates' diligent attention to the office has been already stated.* The slough of despair had been passed in safety. A new era had opened. New faces appeared at the meetings of the Society and of the Executive Committee, and several of those once active disappeared. Doctor Coates, John Jordan, Jr., Samuel Hazard, William Duane and Edward Armstrong of the old guard still remained. Ferdinand J. Dreer, John H. Ashhurst, Jr., John A. McAllister, Samuel L. Smedley, Charles H. Hutchinson, John William Wallace, Joseph Carson, M.D., and Professor C. D. Cleveland, under the stirring leadership of Horatio Gates Jones and J. Ross Snowden, assumed the burdens of administrative management.

*Collapse
Imminent
in Affairs
of the
Society*

A Rally

The first task undertaken was the revision of the constitution and by-laws. Without entering into the tedious details of

* *Ante*, page 300.

*Revision of
Constitution and
By-Laws*

a struggle which lasted several years and involved several opinions by Attorney General William M. Meredith, it is sufficient to say that a liberal instrument was finally adopted, which threw open the membership to all those whom the Society or the Executive Committee saw fit to elect, irrespective of sex or residence; conferred on members the right of attendance and debate, without vote, upon all meetings of the Executive Committee; removed all restrictions upon the annual re-election of officers, except those whose terms were of a fixed length as in the case of committeemen, and vested the full authority necessary to administration in an Executive Committee, which was to consist, with the president, of four vice-presidents, a corresponding secretary, a recording secretary, a treasurer and librarian, of three members for each of the three standing committees on library, publications, and finance, thus making a body of eighteen members. All elections of members were to be by the Society at large or by the Executive Committee, and were to be by ballot. The actions of the standing committees, of which a majority should be a quorum at any committee meeting, were to be reported to the Executive Committee for approval or disapproval. The quorum of the Executive Committee was to consist of five members only, thus escaping the embarrassment of the continued absences of president and vice-presidents, and the shifting irregularities of other officers. Practically, it resulted in the consolidation of authority in the hands of an attentive few. This was offset by the right to an appeal to the Society at large. Stated meetings of the Society were fixed for the second Monday of every month, and of the Executive Committee for the fourth Monday of every month, and special meetings could be called by the president, or one of the vice-presidents, by giving three days' public notice in the newspapers.

*An Infusion
of Fresh
Blood*

The effect was magical. New members poured in. At a single meeting, one hundred and ten new members were chosen, and all of them were nominated by John A. McAlister. Among them may be noted the still well remembered names of Frederick D. Stone, Willis P. Hazard, Asa I. Fish, Horace Howard Furness, John Price Wetherill, Passmore Williamson, the Reverend T. DeWitt Talmadge, Samuel C.

Perkins, F. Gutekunst, the Reverend Phillips Brooks, Colonel Robert Carr, Victor Guillaou and Dr. Washington L. Atlee. In these names many readers of today will find some that vividly suggest the citizenship of Philadelphia during *bellum* and *post bellum* days of the memorable sixties. It is agreeable to turn the pages of the minute books and feel the rising surge in the affairs of the Society. Attendances were recorded as "large," or, more definitely, at fourteen, eighteen, twenty, sixty-two, one hundred and forty-five, and, on one occasion, at two hundred and fifty. The record could not be maintained, but there was no return to the "solitary reign" of Ward.

*Increasing
Attendance*

The atmosphere pervading the rooms of the Society was that of scholarly repose. Saving the few words of Mr. Ingersoll, expressive of anxiety concerning the nation's outlook, no reference is found in the minutes to the dread issues of civil war. The passions of the hour did not invade the precincts of Themis. The sway of the goddess of established custom, order and peace was not disturbed. Apparently, the thoughts of the few members who attended dwelt solely upon the past. Mr. Ballas of Sunbury read extracts from a letter of Richard Rush, dated September 13, 1813, referring to M. Talleyrand and Mr. Madison; Professor Sinding of the New York University read "a learned and interesting" essay on the divisions of time, and on Scandinavian mythology; the Reverend Benjamin T. Wallace discussed the insurrection of the Paxton Boys in 1763; William Cullen Bryant delivered an address on Washington Irving; James Veech of Uniontown, Pennsylvania, urged that the name of "Redstone Old Fort" be restored to Brownsville; Mr. Fisher presented copies of letters from William Penn; John S. Littell read a memoir of Major William Jackson of the Revolutionary army; Horatio Gates Jones announced the death of John Fanning Watson, and eulogized the famous annalist of Philadelphia and New York, while the Reverend Benjamin Dorr, D.D., read an appropriate memoir; Colonel James Ross Snowden presented a copy of his recently published work—*A Description of the Medals of Washington*; Librarian Ward was enraptured over *A History of New Sweden* by Israel Acrelius, published at Stockholm in 1759; John

*Silence as
to the
Affairs
of the
Civil War*

Jordan, Jr., presented a manuscript copy of "Materials towards a history of the Baptists in Delaware"; President Ingersoll delivered his memorial address upon the late Samuel Breck; Horatio Gates Jones discoursed on the Rittenhouse mill in Roxborough Township—the first paper mill erected in British North America; Dr. Coates mourned the death of William Darlington, M.D., LL.D.—the widely known botanist of Chester County; felicitations were extended to the New York Historical Society upon the success of their commemoration of the 200th birthday of William Bradford, the first printer in the Middle Colonies, who established his press in 1685.

An Thus ran the quiet current of events in the serene life of
Awakening the Society until September 28, 1863. Then came the awakening. The long silence as to passing events was broken and patriotism found its tongue. A special meeting had been called to listen to David McConaughy, Esq., of Gettysburg, urging the organization of "the Gettysburg Battle Monument Association." The crowded hall rocked with applause as Mr. Duane presented the following:

Effect of
Battle of
Gettysburg

Resolved, that The Historical Society of Pennsylvania approve of the proposed plan of organization of the Gettysburg Battlefield Association the object of which is to secure and perpetuate the Battle grounds at Gettysburg with their natural and artificial defences preserved in their form and condition as at the time of the battles fought on the 1st, 2nd and 3rd days of July, 1863.

A special committee of nine members was appointed by Vice-President Coates to co-operate with the Executive Committee of the Association in carrying out its objects. The roll of honor was as follows: H. G. Jones, Dr. Gilbert, William Duane, J. G. Fell, John Jordan, Jr., E. A. Souder, R. L. Nicholson, John A. McAllister, and F. J. Dreer. Solomon W. Roberts was requested to prepare a large map of the vicinity of the battlefield to illustrate to a large audience the true position of the contending forces in those memorable days.

In less than a month the committee had, through subscriptions, aided the state association in the purchase of land, had provided for preserving the recollections of witnesses of the battle, had authorized the selection of a suitable person "to write a full and correct History of that battle, which in future years will form so important an era in the history of Pennsylvania," and had arranged for the participation by the Society, through the designation of all its members, in the important ceremony of opening the National Cemetery at Gettysburg on the coming 19th of November. It is a matter of just pride that the earliest action of this Society, so fruitful of results, was taken fifty-two days before Abraham Lincoln had pronounced at Gettysburg those words of imperishable value to mankind, which were destined to become more familiar to the lips than the text of the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution of the United States or the Star Spangled Banner.

*Action of
the Society
in Estab-
lishing the
National
Cemetery*

The next eighteen months were largely spent in marking time. The iron weather vane, described in Watson's *Annals*, I, 128, as having swung above the old mill at Upland, with the letters W. P. S. C. and C. P. 1699, wrought therein, was presented by Reed Wall Flower. The orderly book of Anthony Wayne, in command of the northern Continental army, between, the 5th and the 31st of August, 1780, and the account of the brilliant victory of Wayne at Stony Point as related by Henry B. Dawson, Esq., of Morrisania, New York, divided attention with the contents of Indian mounds—skeletons, bone-tips, arrow-heads, copper ornaments, agate and coal instruments, recently discovered near Meadville, Pennsylvania. Constant and growing dissatisfaction with the present cramped quarters was expressed, coupled with a fear that the possessions of the Society were not safe from fire. Papers were unearthed covering the confiscation of the property of Benedict Arnold on the east bank of the Schuylkill below Laurel Hill. The deaths of Edward Everett and of George M. Dallas—the latter vice-president of the United States during the term of President Polk—were suitably noticed. The memory of Cornplanter, the renowned chief of the Seneca Indians, was made the subject of a special communication by J. Ross Snowden, who had collected facts and reminiscences bearing on the de-

*Presenta-
tions to the
Society*

struction of trophies of Indian wars as influenced by missionaries of the Friendly Association for Preserving Peace.

Increase of Committee Work

Frequent attempts to tinker with the Constitution and by-laws resulted in the increase of the membership of the standing committees from three to five each; in an advance of annual dues from three to five dollars, and of life membership from twenty to twenty-five dollars; and in the compulsory opening of the Hall to members and visitors from 9 a.m. to 2 p.m., from April to July, and from 3 p.m. to 10 p.m., from September to April, on six days of the week. Loans of curios and documents as exhibits were made to promote public interest in the Central or Sanitary Fair held during May and June, 1864, for the benefit of the U. S. Sanitary Commission, in Logan Square. A correspondence was opened with Granville John Penn, Esq., then residing at St. Leonard's near Windsor, England, in the hope of eliciting further information contained in the Penn papers still in his possession. About the same time there was received a printed copy of Edward L. Clark's important book entitled *A Record of the Inscriptions on the Tablets and Grave-Stones in the Burial-Grounds of Christ's Church, Philadelphia*. This was a valuable and authentic contribution to the local and family history of Philadelphia as the Colonial and Revolutionary metropolis.

Surrender to the Commonwealth of the Agreement Between Lord Baltimore and the Penns, of July 4, 1760

There was surrendered to the Commonwealth, under a claim of right, the original agreement, dated July 4, 1760, between Lord Baltimore and Thomas and Richard Penn, for the final settlement of the boundary between Pennsylvania and Maryland. This important document, according to a statement made by Judge Coulter of the Supreme Court, in 5th Barr's Reports [5th *Penna. St. Rep.*], page 486, had been missing for more than half a century, and no complete copy of it was then known to exist.* It had been found on April 24, 1860, among the papers of Chief Justice Tilghman, as entrusted by his administrator Eli K. Price, to William M. Tilghman, the legal preceptor of the present writer, whose conjecture was that the Chief Justice became possessed of it as executor of his father, James Tilghman, who, as secretary of the Land Office and

* A printed copy, with a few and trivial inaccuracies, is to be found in *Pennsylvania Archives*, IV, 3-37.

attorney for the proprietaries before the Revolution, was probably its original custodian. Enclosed in the deed (which covered six large sheets of parchment) was a copy of the first agreement respecting the boundary, dated May 10, 1732, printed by Franklin in 1733. These papers were presented to this Society on August 17, 1860, by Mr. Tilghman. On January 11, 1866, Mr. Tilghman receipted to this Society for these documents, so as to deposit them in Harrisburg, the secretary of the commonwealth having claimed them as the property of the state.*

Following the interest aroused in the Gettysburg Memorial Park, there appeared substantial evidence of attention to current events as a part of history in the making. It began in the collection of war relics, bullets, bayonets and cartridge boxes; torn flags and stained regimental standards, fragments of shell torn trees; portraits of famous officers, photographs of earth works, bridges and buildings around whose walls the crimson tide of battle had ebbed and flowed. There were occasional addresses from colonels and majors on leave of absence. The most notable of these was that of Colonel W. W. H. Davis of Doylestown, Bucks County, who had commanded the 104th Regiment of Pennsylvania Volunteers at Williamsburg, Seven Pines, Fair Oaks, Chickahominy, White Oak Swamp, James Island, Fort Wagner and the siege of Charleston. With his right arm still in a sling he modestly told the story of the attack on Fort Wagner which cost so much blood, of the breaching of Fort Sumter by the celebrated Swamp Angel battery. He scouted the tale of the use of Greek fire. His statistics were interesting. In the bombardment of Sumter, 6,250 projectiles were thrown against it and the Swamp Angel threw shot farther than ever before was known in the history of the world. The final assault on Wagner was made after forty hours of

*Relics from
Battlefields
of the Civil
War*

*Address of
Col. W. W.
H. Davis*

*The Swamp
Angel*

* It is well to note these facts, so that any future examiner of the Accession Book may find an explanation of the disappearance of these particular papers from the custody of this Society. The whole story appears on the Minutes of the Society of October 8, 1860, on the margin of which appears Mr. Tilghman's receipt of January 11, 1866. It is interesting to note further that the first of five documents presented to the Society by John Cadwalader, Esq., December 2, 1924, is evidently a counterpart of the one reclaimed by the commonwealth. As there were two Penns—Thomas and Richard—doubtless there were two Penn family originals.

continuous bombardment, a powerful calcium light, a new feature in warfare, being turned upon the fort. A single gun in the battery burst at the 4,615th round, a case unparalleled in history, after having thrown 138,450 pounds of iron at an expenditure of one-sixth the amount of powder used in the ordinary guns.

The intellectual, moral, and historical significance of these and like events was best stated by John William Wallace in a remarkable letter, dated February 22, 1864, acknowledging his election as a vice-president of the Society. Its salient passages were these :

*Important
Letter of
John Wil-
liam Wal-
lace as to
the Work
of the
Society*

At no time, I think, of our national history so much as now, have duties fallen on those persons who form the Historical Associations of the country. The great immediate and practical interests of the conflict going on about us are so absorbing that we are scarcely conscious of any thing in the scene but a great, immediate and practical issue. In some senses, it is well that we should see no more.

Yet in the moral interest of it all, in the display of armies which it exhibits, in the scenes and occurrences of battle which stand out as upon a foreground, it cannot be doubted that the events of the day which is passing over us are destined to form for succeeding ages a theme of inexhaustible and still deepening interest.

We are I suppose, so much, ourselves, partakers in these events; we are so entirely of this age and of its type, that we are not capable, perhaps, of estimating, in their full truth and genuine character, either the events themselves, or the persons who appear to originate and give them definition. . . .

Yet it cannot be denied, I apprehend, that both the events and the men of this day have their own type; a remarkable type also. . . . It is a type cast in the mould of a new and individual

creation; the product of that indigenous and self-vital spirit which inhabits a vast country of popular institutions; a spirit of power strong in its own strength. . . .

It seems to me that the Historical Society of Pennsylvania rightly enlarges its designs and labors. Not forgetting the ancient duties of the past, and continuing still to rescue from dumb forgetfulness the records of earlier days, it is of late, in some sort, 'leaving the things that are behind,' in order to preserve for future times our now present fame and records; records and a fame which, when this present shall have become the past, will thus stand forth genuine, undenied and honorable. . . .

Certainly in a country like ours, where every thing which belongs to individual or family distinction is fugitive, where neither the greatest of our statesmen nor the most successful of our Generals, can become the founder of a powerful and enduring house, it is the duty of our historical societies to collect and preserve the mementos of true greatness wheresoever exhibited throughout the country. History, in her own time, will assume the pen and immortalize it for the nations.

Truly it might be said with Tennyson:

What great events have chased the seasons by,
Like wind blown waves beneath a thundering sky.

Then came the death of Lincoln. He died Saturday morning, April 15, 1865. On Monday, April 24, the Executive Committee of the Society held its stated meeting. Mr. Ingersoll left his sick room and met Dr. Coates, Aubrey H. Smith, then United States District Attorney, John William Wallace, Charles M. Morris, the Reverend D. Washburn, R. L. Nicholson, Professor Charles D. Cleveland, Samuel L. Smedley, John Jordan, Jr., John A. McAllister, Richard Eddy and many

*The Death
of Lincoln*

members of the Society. The pen of Professor Cleveland had been busy in the meantime. He offered resolutions, which were unanimously adopted without verbal change, and these, without change, were adopted by a special meeting of the Society on April 27. They constitute the contribution of this Society to the literature of the period, and read as follows:

*Resolutions
of the
Society*

Whereas, We recognize in the recent calamity that has fallen upon our Republic, in the violent death of our President, an event that not only calls forth a personal grief from every loyal heart, but rises above individual sorrow, and forms a crisis in our national history. Therefore

I. *RESOLVED*, That it is peculiarly the duty of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania to inquire into the historic meaning of the sad occurrence that has thus suddenly overwhelmed us—to read in it, as well as may be through tears, the lessons of the past of which it is the culmination, and the monitions for the future to which it sternly and undoubtedly points.

II. *RESOLVED*, That in the assassination of our beloved Chief Magistrate, our sorrow for the bereavement is as intense as our horror at the crime. A life has been lost which, by a blending of mental and moral qualities in a union of rare completeness, had a hold upon the heart of every loyal citizen, and made the tie that bound him to his government no less a personal than a civic attachment; and gratefully therefore do we bear our earnest testimony to the consummate ability, the enduring faithfulness, the political sagacity, the far-seeing wisdom, the lofty patriotism, the enlarged humanity, the proverbial honesty, and the ever-flowing goodness which marked the character, through his whole term of office, of our late honored and loved President.

III. *RESOLVED*, That, while with deep grief we mourn the loss of him who on the 22d.

of February, 1861, when he raised the national flag over the State House in which our Constitution was framed, declared with what now seems prophetic significance, that 'he would rather be assassinated upon the spot than fail to maintain the great principles of Constitutional Liberty'; and who, in the four years of his able and momentous administration, so nobly and firmly acted up to that declaration, showing at all times a heart beating in full sympathy with the objects of our Constitution as declared in its preamble, 'to form a more perfect Union, and to secure the blessings of Liberty,' and crowding into that brief period events and principles of deeper historic interest, and of wider and farther reaching influence than were ever before, in so short a time, recorded in history, it is peculiarly fitting in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania to declare it to be their deepest conviction that, under God, it was the wonderfully attuned prudence and energy, justice and mercy, caution and decision, breadth of view and strength of purpose of Abraham Lincoln that led us triumphantly through the perils of this atrocious rebellion.

IV. *RESOLVED*, That, by his wise, persistent, and finally successful efforts in crushing the rebellion, and thus breaking down forever the vilest and most tyrannical oligarchy the sun ever shone upon, Abraham Lincoln has made American citizenship mean, Protection to American Citizens in every portion of the Republic; and that, by his Proclamation of the 1st. of January, 1863, giving immediate liberty to millions long held in bondage, and by his large-hearted humanity, everywhere conspicuous, he has earned for himself the richest of all blessings—'the blessings of those who were ready to perish'; and has thus engraved his name upon the

page of history, for all time to come, as—The Friend of Man.

V. *RESOLVED*, That, when we view the parricide's crime, which has thus whelmed our nation in mourning, as the result of a cause—the natural outgrowth of some principle of action—History and its Philosophy utter no doubtful teachings: they say, as distinctly as voices from the past can say, that the murderous hand which took the life of the Head of our Republic, is but the symbol of that stealthy, deadly blow which must always, sooner or later, be dealt to any Republic, when it either cares not or dares not to cast out from its midst elements that give the lie to the simplest and most fundamental conditions of political liberty; and that our land, as a whole, must either be a unity of homogeneous principles in its parts, or else be dashed into a shapeless wreck by the clashing currents within it.

VI. *RESOLVED*, That, in the long catalogue of crimes committed by the slave-power against liberty and humanity for the last fifty years—crimes too numerous to recount, and many of them too foul to particularize—consummated in the rebellion, and all the atrocious deeds committed in it, and culminating in the murderous assault upon our Secretary of State and the Assistant Secretary, and in that crowning crime of horror, stealthily taking the life of our Chief Magistrate, this same slave-power has shown itself to the world in its true character in acts of malignity and wickedness unparalleled on the page of history; and has shown to us the utter incompatibility of its existence with our own national life.

VII. *RESOLVED*, That, as by the avowed declarations of the slaveholders themselves, who quoted the words of the Saviour, 'the stone

which the builders rejected, the same is become the head of the corner,' and with bold but characteristic blasphemy applied those sacred, heaven-descended words to the foulest of crimes, intending to make it the 'corner-stone' of a new government, slavery was the cause and origin of the rebellion; and to extend it indefinitely, the purpose, by their own avowal, of those who aimed to destroy our national life; so now it conclusively follows and should everywhere be held, that there can be no true patriotism without hostility to that 'sum of all villianies,' and a fixed determination that it shall never be the cause of another rebellion; and no longer, in any way or shape, curse our land.

VIII. *RESOLVED*, That, while we tender to the wife and children of the illustrious deceased our sincerest sympathies in this their irreparable loss, and fervently pray that they may be sustained under it by Him who alike 'gives and takes away,' we at the same time rejoice that he has bequeathed to them so rich and precious a legacy of public and private virtues, which they will ever fondly cherish, and which will grow brighter and brighter as time rolls on.

IX. *RESOLVED*, That, to our honored Secretary of State, Hon. William H. Seward, who has conducted our foreign relations with such signal ability and wisdom in a period of unprecedented difficulty; and to his able and courteous Assistant Secretary, Hon. Frederick W. Seward, both prostrated by the dagger and bludgeon of the assassin, we extend our deepest sympathies, fervently praying that a kind Providence may so restore them to health and strength, that they may be able again to labor for their country in years to come with the same ability as they have in years past.

X. *RESOLVED*, That, to our new President, Andrew Johnson, thus suddenly called to his high station, we pledge our earnest and cordial support; with fervent prayers that he may be guided in all his varied and responsible duties by Infinite Wisdom: rejoicing that, in the patriotism and firmness of his past life, as well as in his recent public declarations that 'treason is the highest of all crimes,' we have the fullest assurance that, while he will show mercy to their misguided and deluded followers, he will visit the guilty authors and leaders of the rebellion, however numerous they may be, with the punishment they so richly deserve; so that thus peace, tranquility and unity may be restored to every part of our land, and thus a warning may be left to traitors for all coming time.

On motion of William S. Peirce, Esq., the preamble and resolutions were unanimously agreed to. And on motion of Mr. Pliny Earle Chase, seconded by Mr. John A. McAllister it was

RESOLVED, That, these Resolutions, signed by the officers of the Society, be published in three of our newspapers, and that copies, engrossed or printed, be sent to the Family of the deceased; to the President of the United States; and to the Secretary of State, requesting that they be deposited in the Archives of the United States, in perpetuation of the sense of the Society upon our great national bereavement.

Adjourned.

Saml. L. Smedley,
Recording Secretary.

CHAPTER XXIII

Ingersoll Administration

Accessions During the Ingersoll Administration — First Indian Deed to Penn — Generosity of Artists — Maclure Collections of French Revolutionary Papers — The Growth of the Society — A Stir in the Library — Efforts to Secure New Quarters — Death of Ingersoll

DURING the Ingersoll administration, from 1860 to 1868, a steady stream of accessions—books, pamphlets, newspapers, manuscripts, records and curios—poured in upon the already overcrowded storage spaces of the Society. The reader has become acquainted with the character of some of these in the course of the preceding pages. In extension of the account, the following items deserve notice.

The Honorable Eli K. Price presented the manuscript records of the Court of Quarter Sessions for Philadelphia County for the year 1685-1686, and the accounts of the Treasurer of Philadelphia County for the year 1766-1767. Dr. Thomas B. Wilson presented Burgoyne's orderly book for the year 1777, the year of his fateful surrender at Saratoga; Mr. Ferdinand J. Dreer, the original note books of daily measurements signed by Mason and Dixon in running the boundary line between Pennsylvania and Maryland; Charles C. Hutchison, the writing desk of George Washington, certified to by Tobias Lear, as having been sent "agreeably to General Washington's commands" to Mrs. Powel, wife of John Hare Powel, and daughter of Charles Willing, from whom the generous donor, a great nephew, had inherited it. Mr. Hutchison also presented songs and ballads of the Revolution.

To the public spirit of Thomas Kimber, Jr., who wrote that "the document is too valuable and important to remain in private possession," the Society is indebted for the gift of the first deed from the Indians to William Penn, dated July 15, 1682, for a large part of what is now Bucks County, Pennsylvania, being the original evidence of his first treaty with them, negotiated about three months before his arrival in the prov-

*Notable
Accessions*

*First
Indian
Deed*

ince, by his deputy William Markham. The deed had been found by William M. Tilghman, Esq., among the law papers of his grandfather, Edward Tilghman, who had been counsel for the Penns shortly after the Revolution. By him it had been presented to the great Central Fair of the United States Sanitary Commission in 1864, and was there purchased by Mr. Kimber. Thus, having "served its turn" well at the Fair by adding to the funds of the Commission, it was, through the liberality of Mr. Kimber, added to the possessions of this Society to take its place beside the Wampum Belt as one of the most curious, authentic, and interesting documents connected with the relations of the Founder of the commonwealth to the Indians.

Then came a strange companionship. A copy of the *Book of Mormon*, printed but thirty years before from gold plates unearthed from the soil of New York by the prophet Joseph Smith, and presented to the Society by W. S. Wilson, rubbed edges with an old book printed at Stockholm in 1759, entitled *History of New Sweden* by Israel Acrelius. The last named volume was made the subject of the following note by Townsend Ward, Librarian, in the Accession Book under the date of August 13, 1860:

*A Lost
Book
Restored*

About five years ago Dr. Seldener, who was shortly afterwards lost in the steamer *Atlantic*, told the Librarian that he had found this volume in an old Castle, in Sweden, that had recently been purchased by his cousin, the private Secretary of the King of Sweden. His cousin presented it to him and he presented it to the Society. He had however lent it to a gentleman who, when done with it, was to deliver it, which has now been done.

*Further
Donations*

The Belgian government, and the Royal Library of Munich had been particularly generous in presenting to the Society, through the Smithsonian Institute, numerous works on classical and historical subjects. John Jordan, Jr., kept up his donations of books, particularly rich in histories of New England towns, while sister historical societies—those of Ohio,

Maryland, Rhode Island and Tennessee—furnished their recent publications. F. C. Henson built up the Society's collection of coins, while well known artists adorned the walls with meritorious copies of originals. James B. Sword supplied copies of Charles Willson Peale's portraits of General Arthur St. Clair, William Bartram, the botanist, the Reverend Henry M. Muhlenberg and William Findlay, the author of *The History of the Insurrection in the Four Western Counties of Pennsylvania, in 1794*. P. F. Rothermel supplied a copy of Gilbert Stuart's Anthony Wayne; James R. Lambdin, copies of Charles Willson Peale's portraits of William Moore, President of the Executive Council of Pennsylvania, from 1781-82; Thomas Wharton, Mayor of Philadelphia, John Penn and Richard Penn; C. Schuessele, a copy of the original portrait of Acrelius, possessed by Trinity Church at Wilmington, Delaware. Nor were originals lacking. John Neagle painted for the Society two portraits in oil of chiefs of the Pawnees; James R. Lambdin, the portrait of Commodore George C. Read, while the venerable Samuel Breck presented the originals of portraits by Thomas Sully of Commodore Stephen Decatur, and General Andrew Jackson.

*The Gener-
osity of
Artists*

Miss Harriet A. Thaw presented a perfect Staffordshire pitcher embellished with the portrait of Washington; Edward Bettle, Jr., the key that belonged to a book-case of William Penn, and J. Miller McKim a pike of John Brown used by John Brown's men at Harper's Ferry in 1859.

The most notable prize of Mr. Ingersoll's administration consisted of a collection of more than thirteen hundred volumes relating to the French Revolution. The story of its acquisition is worthy of narration. William Maclure, who, in later life, was the president of the Academy of Natural Sciences in Philadelphia, had resided in Paris during the years of that terrible struggle, using a handsome income in succoring the distress of his fellow-men. While there, he collected official documents, and ephemeral pamphlets which in mass and in character formed a collection unrivalled in any part of the world save in Paris itself. Such was the deliberate judgment of that most competent scholar, who a few years ago studied the

*The Mac-
lure Collec-
tion of
Papers of
the French
Revolution*

collection for weeks, the late Andrew D. White, LL.D., once President of Cornell University and ambassador from the United States, to Paris, St. Petersburg and Berlin.

*Bought by
Dr. Wilson
and Pre-
sented to
the Society*

Mr. Maclure had bequeathed the collection to the Academy of Natural Sciences. That institution, finding it unsuited to its needs, agreed to sell it, and Doctor Thomas B. Wilson, who had been a constant and generous contributor to the library of this Society, handed his check for \$1200 to a friend with instructions to purchase it for the Historical Society. The friend, considering that he was bound to make the purchase on the most reasonable terms, without disclosing Doctor Wilson's name, represented the matter to the library committee of the Academy, who named \$500 as a proper sum, and obtained authority to sell at that price. The collection being thus secured for the Historical Society, the receipt and the remainder of the money, seven hundred dollars, were handed to Doctor Wilson, who said, as he had given the money, he could not take it back, and requested his friend to use it at his discretion for the benefit of the Society. Acting upon this authority a \$1,000 bond of the North Pennsylvania Railroad Company, then selling at but little more than sixty per cent and one share of the Pennsylvania Railroad Company was bought and placed in the hands of trustees as a permanent Binding Fund, the interest of which was first to be used in binding the books thus acquired. This was the origin of the present Binding Fund. The name of Thomas B. Wilson is deservedly remembered as one of the most substantial benefactors of the Society.

The character and value of the Wilson gift are noticed in the following extract from the bibliography of G. J. A. Ducher: *A Study in the political history of Mercantilism during the French Revolution* by F. L. Nussbaum, attached to the catalogue of the Maclure collection.*

The collection was made and arranged in
the latter years of the eighteenth century by

* There are also valuable contemporaneous notes in manuscript by Townsend Ward, and a manuscript account of the acquisition, as well as additions to the above *Catalogue*, made in October, 1893, by Albert J. Edmunds; all of these are bound together in a small volume, labelled *Catalogue Historical Society Pennsylvania French Historical Documents*.

William Maclurè, then resident in Paris. His intention was apparently to write an account of the Revolution from this material, but other interests, particularly the 'community' of New Harmony, Indiana, led him to give up this project and to give the collection to the Academy of Natural Sciences. There it remained for some time, until the rise of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. That institution purchased the collection . . . in 1861. . . .

*Significance
and Value
of Maclure
Collection*

The collection as a whole is invaluable for those who wish to study the influence of economic issues on the political course of the Revolution. The number of pieces relating to such issues and their arrangement strongly indicate that if Maclure had carried out his original intention, the economic side of the Revolution would not have had to wait until the end of the nineteenth century for tardy and inadequate appreciation by the men of party like Jaurès and Kropotkin and by Napoleonic scholars like Professor Rose.

The present writer has been informed by the librarian of the Historical Society, that the collection is in frequent use by present day students of French history.

A comprehensive view of the growth of the Society is to be best obtained from an analysis of the reports of successive librarians. In 1844, when the Society removed from the rooms which it had shared for nineteen years with the American Philosophical Society to a room on the third floor of No. 211 South Sixth Street, the library amounted to "about sixty volumes, in addition to some boxes of public documents from Washington, which had not been opened."* Immediately after the removal, the library increased rapidly, and following its second removal, two years later, to rooms on the third floor of the Athenaeum Building, a still further increase ensued.

*The
Growth of
the Library
of the
Society*

* Prefatory notice to *Catalogue of the Library of The Historical Society of Pennsylvania*, Part I, History, Biography and Manuscripts, Philadelphia, 1849.

On January 10, 1849, the statement was made that "the Library now amounts to about 1,750 volumes, divided into ten classes, History, Biography, Manuscripts, Pamphlets, Periodicals, Voyages and Travels, Newspapers, Public Documents of Pennsylvania, Public Documents of the United States and Miscellaneous. These observations have been considered necessary to explain why a Society twenty-four years in existence, has not a larger collection of books. Had it not been for the cramped position it was compelled to occupy before it had a room of its own, it would doubtless have long since reached its present size." *

In 1854, the Librarian reported 3,500 volumes, a collection of important manuscripts bound in 100 volumes, and the formation of a gallery of portraits and views. No details were given. In 1862, the elated statement was made by Librarian Townsend Ward that "the Society had received during the year (1861) eighteen hundred volumes, six hundred pamphlets and a number of manuscripts," † but no comprehensive statistical statement of the condition and extent of the library can be found since that of 1849 until the report of Samuel Hazard in February, 1863. The successor of Mr. Ward declared that he had entered upon his duties "without the advantage of a catalogue, or a knowledge of what books were in our possession, and in the absence of a classification." Hence, it was impossible to satisfy the inquiries of applicants desirous of consulting different works in reference to subjects on which they desired information. He concluded that a new arrangement and a proper classification were absolutely necessary for his own benefit as well as for the accommodation of persons applying to consult particular works. He viewed the library of a historical society, "not in the light of a circulating library but one *sui generis*; as one of reference for persons desirous of obtaining information on particular subjects." Hence, it was important so to arrange the books in the catalogue (then contemplated) and cases, in such a manner as to show, at one view,

* *Ibid.* For later statements as to growth of the library, see *post*, Vol. II, Chapters V, XII, XIX.

† *Ante*, p. 290. This statement, clearly from its date, embraced the Wilson donation of books and pamphlets relating to the French Revolution.

all the works in the Society's possession relative to any department that might be applied for.

Mr. Hazard made four main divisions, biographical and genealogical; history—American and foreign; ecclesiastical; and miscellaneous. This arrangement was indicated by labels on the cases. The cases under each heading varied in number according to the size and demands of each section. The arrangement on the shelves was alphabetical, the old system of designating books by mere numbers being discarded. Under the head of biography and genealogy the name of the subject was chosen in preference to that of the author. The first section contained 588 volumes, of which 49 related to Washington. American history had five sub-divisions: 1—America generally; 2—North America, including the British provinces; 3—American Revolution; 4—the United States, generally, including travels; 5—individual states, in geographical order, somewhat disturbed by the date of admission into the Union. Under these heads were included congressional and legislative documents, maps, newspapers, magazines and local histories of towns, alphabetically arranged. Foreign history was divided into Europe, Asia, Africa and the West Indies. The ecclesiastical and miscellaneous groups occupied the most of the available space, and were intended to follow the same arrangement. No figures were given as to the number of books in the three several divisions following that of biography and genealogy. No attention, because of lack of time, had been given to the manuscripts in the fireproof, which were as they had been left by his predecessor, nor had the bound pamphlets been catalogued. The general statement was made: "The books in the library at this date [February 9, 1863] amount from actual count to six thousand, nine hundred and eighty volumes. There are some duplicates."

Mr.
Hazard's
Classifica-
tion

The report for the next year was colorless. The work had gone on, but interruptions had been frequent. Mr. Hazard, who is gratefully remembered as the author of Hazard's *Annals of Pennsylvania*, and as the editor of Hazard's *Register*,* was an old man. His legs were weak, his arms were tired, his

* See *ante*, Chapter XII.

eye-sight was failing, and his brain was weary. The task was too heavy, and he declined a re-election.

Samuel Leiper Taylor, at the annual election in February, 1864, was chosen librarian. His first and only report was read at the stated meeting of the Society, held January 9, 1865. It contains the following summary of the possessions of the Society:

*Mr.
Taylor's
Enumeration of
Contents of
the Library*

By actual enumeration, our Library contains of books bound or ready for binding, eight thousand six hundred and twenty-five volumes, of which there belong to the North Room, six thousand one hundred and seventy-three, and to the South Room, two thousand four hundred and fifty-two. There are about two hundred and thirty known duplicates, more than half of which are of an official character, and two or three triplicates, &c. This enumeration does not embrace our own publications, or the extra sets of the Colonial Records of which we have several. The pamphlets and manuscripts, it has at present, been found impossible to number, chiefly from the want of room, and a good place to separate them during the process of enumeration. Of paintings, properly so styled, we have sixty-five; engravings, framed photographs and prints, &c., we have jointly sixty-seven; also, numerous charts, maps, unframed engravings and photographs, medallions, coins of various value, and arrow heads; likewise sundry bullets, swords, canes, chairs, other wooden relics, Indian dresses or parts thereof, and multifarious odds and ends, here reckoning unbound newspapers, all of which your Librarian hopes some day to set forth in full, with as good a history of each and all thereof as may be accessible to him. The Belt of Wampum, you all know of. We trust soon to make a better arrangement hereof, but will be in any case much hampered by our want of space.

Mr. Taylor failed to be re-elected. He was a young man, a member of the bar, an ambitious, self-sufficient but tactless individual, who sought to re-arrange all human learning according to a system of his own, pyramiding philosophies and inventing terms unknown at that time to librarians, and probably unknown ever since. The reader, bearing in mind that his report was read aloud by himself before a stated meeting of the Society, can judge for himself of the causes of his downfall from a brief analysis of his report.

*Indiscreet
Attack of
Mr. Taylor
on Brother
Officers*

At the outset, he confessed that he entered upon his duties without experience, but alleged that the condition of the library and a want of system pervading the Society challenged his zeal to considerable effort. In this he was doubtless correct, for the painful effects of the prolonged absences of the president must have been apparent. The errors he committed were in displaying an offensive egotism, in assailing his predecessors in office, and in the assumption of authority beyond his province.

He declared that for some time prior to his entry, "no capable person had felt warranted in taking sufficient control of its [the Society's] affairs as to render efficiency possible." He had been told by a prominent member of the body, prior to his election, that what was needed was one "who would be not merely a Librarian, but an executive officer; that is, a person who would look after the interests of the Society generally."

After this modest exordium, he boldly declared that his "aim has been at once the imparting prominence to, as well as maintaining dignity in the Society, to bring it before the public in a manner which would at once command notice and respect." He wished to be:

No musty Dry-as dust, hardly breathing,
buried deep under fathoms of obstructions; no
cringing sycophant, bowing at the shrines of
wealth and fashion, and neglecting his legitimate
duties; no blatant swaggerer, thinking by
talk to atone for the absence of capacity and
energy; nor yet a slothful drone, who like the

*His Self-
Conceit*

junior scions of English aristocracy, feels duty discharged by a receipt of salary. None of these could enact his programme. He simply sought to do his duty; all duty fairly owing by him in both his assumed capacities. How far this has been accomplished, you, each for himself, and all collectively, must judge. And this, partly from the sequel hereof, and partly from such individual attention to and personal observation of him in the actual performance of said duty, as it may respectively have suited you to give.

He then explained his classification, somewhat cryptically:

Every work has its subject, names itself in certain character, is prepared with a specific design. This fixes its class. Where there are several classes within its covers, we of necessity select that which predominates. Our subjects, as it were open, beginning with one single in its purpose, perhaps selfish in its object, and from thence gradually expanding and spreading their wings until they have become so outstretched and curved as to embrace thereunder, the whole human race whose tone and thought run with ours.

He developed "this idea" in detail. From "base to apex" he constructed fifteen divisions:

*His Classification
Plan*

1—*Biography*, beginning 'with man in his narrowest relation to himself and the world, in his individual capacity'; subdivided into *Auto-biography*, 'in which he narrates his own life, and *Allo-biography*, in which he is portrayed by another': 2—*Genealogy*, and 'thereto we have annexed our small stock of *Heraldry*,' in these 'we meet man in his family relation; designating his kindred, and the mode and manner of his connection with them': 3—*Philology*, 'herein we reckon, inter alia, *Dictionaries*, *Lexicons* and

Grammars,' as all over the world man seeks to communicate his thoughts to others by language: 4—*Literature*, divided into Practical and Theoretical, the first embracing the Drama, Poetry and Fiction, the second, Rhetoric, Logic and their associates: 5—*All Professions*, under eight heads, General Trade, Merchandize, Banking, Printing, Mechanics, Law, Medicine and Theology: 6—*Arts and Sciences*, Drawing, Painting, Sculpture, Astronomy, Almanacs, Geology, Navigation, Natural History, Statistics and Numismatics: 7—*Odography*, Travels and Adventures, 'we call it *Odography*, from two Greek words, *odos* signifying a journey, and *grapho* I write. This word is made to order, and I trust may be acceptable': 8—*Social Relations*, Family and Private Life and Slavery: 9—*Ethnology*, the constitution, habits, and appearance of mankind as modified by climate, soil, diet, and other influences: 10—*Geography*, 'under it, besides its specific works, we mean to place Agricultural Reports and Treatises, Gazetteers, Local Registers and Guide Books': 11—*Politics*, meaning fiscal Reports, Political Pamphlets and Political Economy: 12—*Oikeigraphy*, 'deeming this *coined* word, the etymology of which, *oikeios* pertaining to home, and *grapho* I write, a better title than Local History.'

At this point Mr. Taylor paused to introduce subdivision 13, *History*, in these words:

But we must yet further mount. The enlarged mind beholds all which we have yet examined, folds its strong grasp over it, and feels that in a broader sense all the above should be known, included in a systematized and condensed, yet complete shape; it should be seen in a view, all embracing, pervasive and settling. The last head does this in a small range, it must

now be expanded over large space. We have now reached the domain of History, which gives our Society name and existence. The sub-divisions were Ancient and Modern—History Improper and Proper: Improper or unarranged History contains Chronological Tables, Historical Pamphlets, Newspapers, Registers, Magazines and Periodicals of all kinds: History Proper divides into State, National, General and Universal.

Mr. Taylor proceeded:

14: You may think we have attained the highest elevation of which our subject admits, but our pyramid still has to be pointed, for man has not done thinking yet. When all else is finished, *Philosophy* steps upon the carpet, reasoning with the Ancients from cause to effect, or acting with the Moderns in a contrary direction, she overlooks all else, but wants the power of her predecessor.

15: From the base to the apex, our structure is complete. But among the Ancients it was a custom (not now wholly disused) over their erections of permanence, those which they desired to go to posterity, to write, cut, carve, grave, notch, or however you may choose to term it, letters or characters, to keep in remembrance certain events connected with that they had erected. They are generally called *hieroglyphics*, a very sonorous name. But on our mental structure the part must be performed by *Bibliography* and *Catalogues*.

The Librarian's personal diligence and decorum were described in these words:

The Library since about the last of March, has been open between the hours of 11 A.M. and 2 P.M., being one hour longer than required by

previous regulations. Except on holidays, fixed by national authority, or designated by the Executive Committee, the Librarian has been enabled to be always personally present, save for a brief time on some few days, when the Hall has been attended by a person in his own private employment. No entire day has been missed, and but a little space at the very worst has he failed to be here in person. Nor has he at the closing hour of the day, felt it proper, save in cases of extreme urgency, to turn people out on the stroke of the clock. Most of the persons usually visiting here are *gentlemen*, and should be treated as such. By such remark it must not be understood that we are not always glad to see the *ladies* for their presence ever gives us pleasure. . . . In conclusion, your Librarian can only say, that it has been, is, and shall be his steady purpose to advance the interests of the Society, by all the above adopted means, and by all others that are now, or may hereafter come within the range of his power.

*His Self
Laudation*

So much importance was attached to this report by its author that he had it "printed for the Author." Some unknown member of the Society prepared the following skit,* which has been preserved in manuscript in the same volume with Mr. Taylor's presentation copy:

Having examined the 'Librarian's' Report, we have the honor to offer the following Resolutions: Resolved, that we have read with much enjoyment and astonishment the Librarian's report: Resolved, that that report is fearfully and wonderfully made: Resolved, that we fully co-incide with the opinion of the great 'Ex-Speaker of the House,' that 'it is the greatest report he ever read,' and we take the

*A Caustic
Skit on
Taylor's
Report*

* *Miscellaneous Publications of The Historical Society of Pennsylvania,*

liberty to add, 'or any other man': Resolved, that in our opinion the Report ought to be preserved in a 'glass case' among the archives and other treasures of the Society: Resolved, that the Secretary be and hereby is authorized to procure seventeen cases similar to the one in which our Belt of Wampum is preserved, so as to show both sides of each of the 17 pages of the Report in order that 'he who reads may run': Resolved, that in our opinion this report settles beyond a question the propriety of re-electing the present Librarian: Resolved, that the Report will make a noise; Resolved, that in our humble opinion this Report, booming over the still waters of this Society will create an *Eddy*,* heretofore unknown in its annals: Resolved, that in our opinion the cause of Science, Literature, the Arts, History (proper and improper, sacred and profane) Bibliography, Biography, *Odography*, Geography, *Oikeigraphy*, Hieroglyphics, and 'inter alia,' Belles Lettres are receiving an irreproachable injury by the attention in a subordinate, and we might say cramping position of the Author of this so luminous Report: Resolved, that this Report shall not be accessible to any one, except in the presence of the Librarian, who shall be prepared to read it to any one so desiring at all times.

Taylor's Mr. Taylor was imprudent enough to read his report for
Defeat the year 1864 at the stated meeting of the Society in January, 1865, at which but seventeen members were present, one month before the February election, doubtless confident of his election, there being no nominee opposed to him. At the annual meeting in February, 1865, there were present one hundred and forty-five members. The regular business was suspended, a motion to proceed to an election was carried; a motion to

* The Reverend Richard Eddy was, within a month, elected as Mr. Taylor's successor.

open the nominations was objected to; a motion "that if any member not in nomination shall receive a majority of the votes cast for any office, he shall be declared elected," was ruled out of order by Dr. Coates, vice-president, in the chair; tellers were appointed to conduct the election; the votes were cast, and the result announced that for the office of Librarian, Samuel L. Taylor had received 44 votes, and Richard Eddy 101. Mr. Ingersoll as president received a unanimous vote, but the Honorable John M. Read, who was not in nomination, polled a larger vote than Joshua Francis Fisher, a regular nominee, for the place of one of four vice-presidents—the remaining three having been regularly chosen. Thereupon, Mr. Duane raised the point of order that as Judge Read's name had not been regularly presented, his election was ineffective. A resolution sustaining the objection was unanimously carried. Not one of the forty-four friends of Mr. Taylor had the courage to urge the same point in his favor, overwhelmed as he had been by the conclusive strength of the sentiment against him.

His bitterness, however, was not to be suppressed. He published in March, 1865, an addendum to his report, charging that unfair methods had accomplished his defeat, that politics had been resorted to, that an organization unconnected with the Society had interfered in its concerns, and spread direct and deliberate falsehoods concerning him, questioning his loyalty and that of his friends. An unsigned article, four columns in length, appeared in the newspapers, charging that the rooms of the Society had been on election night "changed suddenly into a most disreputable den of political contention," the "combination was evidently composed of the dregs of political contamination . . . no sooner had the balloting commenced, than there were well drilled hirelings, utterly wanting to moral principle or honorable action, set to their work with that enthusiasm of political usurpation which awakens the anxiety of the nervous and more gentle part of the human family." Lasting injury to the Society was predicted, "at least so long as these devastators of the honor and pride of *political liberty* and unbigoted enthusiasm are allowed to figure at its proceedings." The hope was expressed "for posterity's sake, and

*Taylor's
Newspaper
Attack on
the Society*

for the sake of the unanimity of the General Government of the United States that no such principles (tending as they do to subvert our republican institutions) may pervade the community at large." *

The threatened conflagration soon flickered out. The minutes re-assumed their usual tranquility and the incident was soon forgotten.

*Report of
Mr. Eddy
as Librarian*

The Reverend Richard Eddy presented his first report as librarian in January, 1866, at which point we resume the account of the growth of the Library. 800 volumes, and 3,798 pamphlets had been added during the past year. The total number of books was 9,425, and of pamphlets 9,045, of which 1,378 were almanacs ranging from the year 1617 to 1865. These had been arranged into 115 volumes ready for binding; the whole catalogued, and each volume indexed. Magazines and other serials and duplicates were not included in the enumeration. Of the 380 articles received for the museum, 54 had been obtained by purchase, and 326 by donation. There had been 170 separate donors of books and pamphlets, showing the extent of a general interest in the Society. Fifty printed, and six manuscript sermons, delivered upon the death of President Lincoln, together with pamphlets relating to the late Rebellion, contributed by the Union League, by Dr. Francis Lieber of New York, and by Ferdinand J. Dreer of Philadelphia, had built up more than 1,000 volumes of contemporaneous literature pertaining to the Civil War. Relics from recent battle-fields, and a few from battle-fields of the Revolution; valuable specimens of Provincial and Continental money; a variety of Confederate bonds and currency; maps, charts, photographs and engraved portraits, stereoscopic views and other matters interesting and curious, as well as important additions to biographies and genealogies, through the kindness of the two branches of the Society of Friends, had greatly enriched the Society.

A card or slip plan of catalogue had been begun as the foundation of a general catalogue. The Hall had been open for 238 days in the year; 567 visits had been made by members,

* Volume of newspaper clippings, entitled *Contemporaneous Records of The Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 1851-1878.*

and 275 by strangers, exclusive of those present during any meeting hours. Eleven meetings of the Society had been held with an aggregate attendance of 210, and 12 meetings of the Executive Committee, with an aggregate attendance of 103, making a total of 1,155 persons visiting the Hall, or an average of about 5 persons daily for the 238 days.

*Mr. Eddy's
Summary of
Activities
of the
Society*

During the following year, the total of books had grown to 10,256 volumes, and of pamphlets to 12,228. There had been 150 donors to the library, of whom 37 were societies or public institutions; 30 donors to the museum, of whom 10 were strangers to membership. There had been no falling off in the average daily attendance.

Dr. Eddy emphasized in his report that this Society had been instrumental in persuading the state officers and the legislature to restore to Independence Hall the chair of John Hancock, the ink stand, and the table upon which the Declaration of Independence had been signed, all of which had been at Harrisburg since the removal of the state government from Philadelphia to that city. The restoration took place on February 22, 1867, under the auspices of the Society, and these priceless and sacred memorials were placed in their proper positions in the Hall of Independence by the Honorable Joseph R. Ingersoll, President of the Society, in the presence of the Governor of the commonwealth, the Attorney-General, the Chief Justice, the Judges of the Supreme Court and of the several courts of the County of Philadelphia; the United States District Judge; the Mayor of the city, members of Councils; descendants of the signers of the Declaration of Independence; the members of the Historical Society; officers of the army and navy; the survivors of the soldiers and sailors of the War of 1812; representatives of the public press and citizens generally.

*Restoration
to Inde-
pendence
Hall of
Priceless
Relics*

During the year 1867, the last of Mr. Ingersoll's service as President, the Librarian reported the total number of books as 10,799 volumes, and 12,876 of pamphlets. The net increase for the year was 543 books, and 648 pamphlets. The result, apparently disappointing, was accounted for by the deduction from former figures of 309 duplicates in books, and of 1,615 duplicates in pamphlets. Substantial progress had been made

*Condition
of the
Library*

in the work of cataloguing. The catalogue drawers contained 4,720 full titles, and 3,234 cross references, an increase over the previous year of 1,814 of the former, and of 1,538 of the latter. A start had been made, for the first time, in classifying the manuscripts, engravings, and broadsides which had been accumulating in the fire-proof for many years. The work had been entrusted to Frederick D. Stone, as assistant to Mr. Eddy.

*Volume
VIII of the
Memoirs*

There had also been prepared for publication the minutes of the committee of defence of Philadelphia during the War of 1812, edited by William Duane, and published in 1867, as Volume VIII of the *Memoirs* of the Society.

From this general survey of the growth of the Society, as revealed by an analysis of the reports of successive Librarians, it will be perceived by the reader that the pressing need of the Society, for the fourth time in its history, was a new home, larger in dimensions, more accessible in location. The matter had been agitated for years.

*The Need
of New
Quarters
for the
Society*

In a preceding chapter relating to the Sergeant administration, an account was given, after the removal of the Society from the rooms of the American Philosophical Society, of the various attempts to secure a commodious and separate habitation, sustained by the pride and dignity of ownership instead of a mere tenancy. The reader will recall the unsuccessful effort in 1846 to purchase from Miss Dickinson the historic "Slate Roof House." * In April, 1864, Charles Knecht, who in the meantime had become the owner, offered the property for sale. Thereupon, Mr. Armstrong, sustained by Dr. James J. Levick, moved the appointment of a committee to ascertain whether the building could be bought, or, if not, whether its preservation as a mansion of historical importance could be secured. Mr. Aubrey H. Smith stated that he had recently examined portions of the building and found them so decayed that preservation was impossible. Notwithstanding this objection, Richard Wright, Thomas H. McAllister, Cephas G. Childs, Thomas H. Montgomery, John C. Trautwine and John Rice were appointed a committee. Within a week, the committee recommended to the Society the purchase

* *Ante*, Chapter XVI.

of the house and lot, which measured 42 feet on Second Street, with a depth of 150 feet on Gothic Street.

A letter was then read from Mr. Knecht stating that he would sell to the Society for the sum of \$30,000, offering himself to contribute \$500. It then appeared during a discussion of ways and means that the Elliott Cresson legacy of \$10,000 had been left to this Society for the purchase of the Penn Mansion (the Slate Roof House) but that as the money had not been so used, owing to the refusal at that time of Miss Dickinson to sell, the benefaction had been lost, under an auditor's report, confirmed by the orphans' court and affirmed by the supreme court. The cherished plan of Mr. Cresson had been frustrated, and the fund had been used, under judicial approval, for the payment of other legacies.

*Renewed
Attempt to
Secure the
"Slate Roof
House"*

The acquisitive ardor of Treasurer Charles Morris was not chilled by this depressing announcement. He promptly moved that the offer of Mr. Knecht be accepted. When challenged as to the means of payment, he admitted that there was no fund in hand which could be used either in the whole or in part for such a purpose, but suggested special subscriptions. The motion was then put and unanimously carried. A committee of fifty persons to collect subscriptions was then appointed. Before conclusive steps were taken in this direction, it was thought best to refer the matter to the consideration of a sub-committee of the Executive Committee then engaged in revising the constitution of the Society.

*Effort to
Secure Sub-
scriptions*

Aubrey H. Smith, a lawyer of distinction, the son-in-law of Mr. Justice Grier of the Supreme Court of the United States, presented a report. While expressing satisfaction with the growth of an interest in the community looking to the preservation of the monuments of our state history, and a hearty concurrence in the common desire to rescue the primitive state house of the commonwealth from threatened destruction, yet the sub-committee deemed it proper, while acting in an advisory capacity, to point out, that under the charter of the Society as embodied in the Act of June 2, 1826, the power to purchase real estate was subject to the restriction that the property acquired should be used for the strict purposes of the institution, under pain of forfeiture. No one proposed to use

*Lack of
Power
under the
Charter to
Buy Real
Estate*

the Slate Roof House as a hall or library of the Society. Its location forbade such use, as being too far out of the way. Vacancy would be ruinous, and leasing to a stranger as a source of revenue would invite forfeiture. Besides, properties held by corporations for purposes other than those expressed in the charter were generally mismanaged. Officers were diverted from their regular duties, or else were the victims of commissions, expenses and charges foreign to their duties. In this case, in particular, the cost of supervision, taxes and repairing would fall on the Society's slender funds, unrelieved by any existing income. If the proposed funds were not promptly subscribed, the Society must meet the deficit. Interest on borrowed money would have to be met. From whence would the means come to meet the interest? If not forthcoming, suit, judgment and execution must follow, and the collections and library be placed in peril. The appeal for the preservation of the Slate Roof House should properly be made to the municipality or to the public at large. Clearly, it was beyond the functions of the Society as such to interpose. From this inexorable legal and business logic there could be no escape. The Executive Committee sustained the sub-committee. Mr. Knecht's offer was politely declined, the previous action of the Society having been rescinded.

*Renewed
Efforts to
Secure En-
larged
Quarters*

Time and again, however, during the next four years, the question of new, enlarged, safer and more accessible quarters was agitated with increasing vehemence. In 1865, James Ross Snowden and John Jordan, Jr., as a committee, issued a printed *Appeal to the Citizens of Pennsylvania on behalf of The Historical Society of Pennsylvania*, urging the importance of securing a safe depository for precious books and papers.

For want of a fire proof building, the early archives of New Hampshire, Massachusetts, New York, New Jersey, North Carolina and Virginia had been entirely or partially destroyed by fire. In 1800, the buildings used by the War Department of the United States had been destroyed by fire; in 1833, the Treasury buildings in Washington were consumed; in 1836, documents and papers, historically important, were lost from the same cause. A recent conflagration of the Smith-

sonian Institute of Washington, caused by a defective flue, had resulted in the loss of works of art, of science and of objects of natural history. The library of over 30,000 volumes was not injured, because separated from the main building by fire proof walls. Our sister historical society of New York narrowly escaped from the loss of its library, historical collections and papers, on the occasion of a fire which burned a portion of the New York University buildings, where the Society had its rooms. It had since seen the propriety of erecting the suitable and secure building it then occupied, built at a cost of \$85,000; a monument to the liberality and public spirit of the citizens contributing funds to accomplish so good and useful a work.*

*The
Dangers
of Fire*

A Building Fund committee was appointed, of which the Honorable John M. Read was chairman, with Charles MacAlister as treasurer, and James Ross Snowden as secretary. The remaining members were Joseph R. Ingersoll, Joseph Harrison, Jr., Joseph Patterson, Joshua Francis Fisher, William Duane, S. Morris Waln, A. G. Coffin, John Jordan, Jr., John William Wallace, William Bucknell, A. G. Cattell, J. Gillingham Fell, Cephas G. Childs, George W. Ball and H. N. Burroughs. The efforts of these estimable and influential men were unremitting, but success did not crown their labors until 1871. The story of the establishment of a new Hall belongs to the next chapter.

The death of Joseph R. Ingersoll, on February 20, 1868, occurred 10 days after his election as President of the Society for the ninth time. The formal eulogium upon his life and character was delivered before the Society on September 28, 1869, by David Paul Brown, Esq., in the Hall of the University of Pennsylvania, then on the site of the present Post Office building, on the west side of Ninth Street above Chestnut † [1929].

*The Death
of President
Ingersoll*

* *Miscellaneous Publications of The Historical Society of Penna.*, IV.

† The address was published in Volume II of the *Miscellaneous Publications of The Historical Society of Pennsylvania*. The material features have been embodied in the biographical sketch presented in Chapter XX, this volume.

CHAPTER XXIV

Administration of John William Wallace 1868 - 1883

*Biographical Sketch of John William Wallace with an Account of
His Ancestry*

*Urgent
Needs
of the
Society*

THE affairs of the Society had become so urgent as to admit of no delay in the choice of a successor to Mr. Ingersoll. New and spacious quarters were required to accommodate a fast growing library. Documents, portraits, and curios, crowded into unlighted corners or heaped upon inaccessible shelves, demanded protection from fire and dirt. There was also an imperative requirement for the introduction of a true system of management. The day of venerable and venerated presidents, too infirm for active service, was over. A crisis had been reached. A man was needed in the prime of life, in comfortable circumstances, free from the distractions of active professional work, yet withal a man of affairs and of influence, with a decided bent towards history, of literary abilities, but with experience in addressing audiences, zealous and ardent, capable of directing the labors of others and of inspiring in them enthusiastic performance, a president with a clear vision of an attainable goal, of persistent energy and of persuasive tact—in short a true leader and not a mere place holder.

*John
William
Wallace
Chosen as
President*

Such a man, and more, was found in the second vice-president, John William Wallace, then in the fifty-fourth year of his age. His promotion over the senior vice-president, Doctor Coates, who had so valiantly carried the actual burdens of the presidency during Mr. Ingersoll's regime, was manifestly proper. Dr. Coates, although one of the Founders of the Society, and alone of all the living members capable of looking back upon forty-four years of service, was clearly too old for the place. Mr. Wallace was chosen President on April 13, 1868, for the unexpired term of Mr. Ingersoll, and was suc-

cessively elected fifteen times. This record is in excess of those of his predecessors. It will be recalled that Mr. Rawle served for twelve years, Mr. Du Ponceau for eight, Judge Sergeant for thirteen, Dr. Norris for two, and Mr. Ingersoll for eight. Mr. Wallace was young enough to begin and remain to the end of his life a vigorous enthusiast in building up the interests of the Society. His attainments as a student of American history were as profound as they were varied. He had a cultivated judgment and took a just pride in the achievements of the people of Pennsylvania. He inherited an old-fashioned courtesy of manner and appearance, which gave dignity and distinction to the chair.

*Comparative Terms
of the
Presidents*

*Mr.
Wallace's
Attainments*

Upon the legal profession he had impressed himself in an unusual way. In 1841, having become the treasurer and librarian of the Law Association of Philadelphia, his attention was called to the comparative merits of ancient English law books, from the days of Edward I to those of George III. The result of his studies was *The Reporters*—a book not only learned but delightful for its witty coruscations—which has passed through four editions, challenging the attention of jurists, both at home and abroad, and achieving the highest distinction as a legal classic. The words which Mr. Wallace applied to John Kinsey, successively attorney general and chief justice of Pennsylvania before the Revolution, and to his son, James Kinsey, chief justice of New Jersey—both of them possessors of the most complete law libraries of their days—are justly applicable to Mr. Wallace himself: "Both gentlemen would appear to have been something touched with Mr. Surface's elegant taste in the matter of their books; many of which are tall paper copies, unusually nice and complete, and marked by those denotements, so familiar to the bibliophiles of Italy, which so ravish the eye of bibliographical free-masonry, and bind together in one fellowship, throughout every age and land, the elect of this sublimest science." During twelve years, from 1864 to 1875, Mr. Wallace produced twenty-three volumes of *Reports* of the decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States, which "constitute his monument and earthly fame, an invaluable legacy to the profession and a memorial of the faithfulness and ability of the reporter."

*His Scho-
lastic
Labors in
the Law*

Ancestry of Mr. Wallace The ancestral strain of Mr. Wallace, as might be conjectured from the name, was predominantly Scottish. For those who are curious in such matters, it can be traced on the maternal side through James I, King of Scotland, to Robert Bruce, and through Lady Jane Beaufort, the consort of James, to Edward I of England, the greatest of the Plantagenets.* The first of his line, who came to this country, was John Wallace, a son of the Reverend John Wallace of Drumellier on the Tweed and Christian Murray, his wife, in whose veins ran the royal blood. He settled at Newport, Rhode Island, in 1742, and several years later moved to Philadelphia. There he married Mary, sole daughter of Joshua Maddox, a warden of Christ Church, and one of the original board of trustees of the University of Pennsylvania. Their son, Joshua Maddox Wallace, married Tace, daughter of Colonel William Bradford, the patriot printer and soldier, the grandson of William Bradford, who introduced the art of printing into the middle colonies of British America. Their second son, John Bradford Wallace, married Susan Binney, a daughter of Barnabas Binney, M.D., a surgeon in the American army of 1776, and a sister of the renowned lawyer, Horace Binney. Their eldest son and first child was John William Wallace, the subject of this sketch. His birthday was February 17, 1815.

Birthday of John William Wallace The grandfathers mentioned were both men of consequence and public usefulness. The original John Wallace, a merchant and a man of literary tastes, assisted in founding the present Redmond Library at Newport, R. I., and was a founder in this city of Philadelphia of the St. Andrew's Society. From 1775 till the dissolution of the royal government, he was a councilman of Philadelphia. His son, Joshua Maddox Wallace, a graduate of the University of Pennsylvania, after pursuing for a time a mercantile career, removed to Burlington, N. J., and became an active and energetic citizen. He was a patriot during the Revolution; a member of the convention of New Jersey that ratified the Constitution of the United States; a mem-

John Wallace

Joshua M. Wallace

* See extract from Burke's *The Royal Families of England, Scotland and Wales*, printed as an appendix to the commemorative address before the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, by Henry Flanders, Esq., in the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, VIII, xliii (1884).

ber of the legislature of New Jersey; a trustee of Princeton College, and a judge of the pleas of Burlington County.

John Bradford Wallace—the father of the sixth President of this Society—was born at Ellerslie, a farm in Somerset County, New Jersey, bearing a name inseparably associated by all readers of Miss Porter's *Scottish Chiefs* with that William Wallace, whom Burns apostrophised in his noble lyric; "Scots, wha hae wi' Wallace bled." After graduating from Princeton with the highest honors of his class, he pursued his legal studies under the direction of his uncle, William Bradford, the third Attorney General of the United States, under Washington's administration. He set an example, which his son subsequently followed on a thrice larger scale, by publishing, in 1801, reports of *Cases in the Circuit Court of the United States for the Third Circuit*, in a single volume. The work of the son, undertaken in 1849, in three volumes, is known as Wallace Junior's *Reports*.

John
Bradford
Wallace

The character of the mother of Mr. Wallace is exquisitely delineated in a private journal, kept in 1849, by her brother, Horace Binney. A single extract will suffice: "She would have become any station from the highest which wears a coronet or sits upon a throne, to the humblest to which is promised the Kingdom of Heaven. From her earliest womanhood to her death, she had the most uniformly bright and vivid mind that I have ever personally known in man or woman. I have never personally known any other man or woman, however intellectual, whose mind was not occasionally torpid or drowsy, as it were, on the wing, however able generally to soar. But Mrs. Wallace's mind was at all times, and in all states of health or spirits, 'wide awake,' not in the flashy sense of that expression, which implies animal rather than intellectual vivacity, but as a watchful and sleepless spirit that had all its ministers about it, arrayed and alert for the service of the moment, whatever it might be—action, defense, conversation, sympathy. Her intellect, to use the apt Bible word, was girded about, and indeed it was a golden cincture, which diffused light, while it supported and compacted together all her faculties."

Susan
Binney, the
Mother of
John
William
Wallace

Mr. Wallace had a just but not ostentatious pride in his ancestry. His mind was alert and eager in the pursuit of knowl-

Versatility of Mr. Wallace edge, excursive yet exact, so stored with fulness of knowledge that Bishop Odenheimer once asked, "How many professions hath Mr. Wallace studied? in which of the arts and sciences manifold hath he made the greatest proficiency?" After a classical course in the University of Pennsylvania, under the ripest teachers of the time, he studied the law in a deeply scientific sense in the offices of his father and of John Sergeant, the latter for fifty years the rival of Mr. Binney at the bar. The date of his admission to the old District Court is recorded as October 27, 1836, and on January 30, 1837, on motion of William M. Meredith, he was admitted to the bar of the common pleas. He never engaged in the active practice of the profession. His tastes did not incline him to the conflicts of the forum, and his circumstances did not compel him to seek them. As Mr. Flanders has said, "to most members of the profession the law is 'a service and a livelihood'; to Mr. Wallace it was an abstract and liberal pursuit. He was not a dilettante legal trifler, but an earnest, accomplished, and useful worker." In addition to his *magna opera*—*The Reporters*; Wallace Jr.'s *Reports*; and the twenty-three volumes of United States reports—he edited *Cases, Chiefly Relating to the Criminal and Presentment Law, Reserved for Consideration* and shared with his gifted brother, Horace Binney Wallace, a man of rare and radiant mind, the editorship of Smith's *A Selection of Leading Cases in Various Branches of the Law*, White and Tudor's *A Selection of Leading Cases in Equity*, and *American Leading Cases*, taking over the editorship of these works, after his brother's untimely death, with the assistance of the Honorable J. I. Clark Hare, a jurist of the foremost distinction, who had married his cousin, a daughter of Horace Binney.

His Education

Admission to the Bar

His Legal Labors

In truth, at all times, Mr. Wallace was in close intellectual companionship with legal scholars, the *jurisprudētissimi*, of his day, both at home and abroad. He knew and corresponded with the great lights of the English bench, Lord Chief Justice Campbell, the Lord Chief Baron Pollock and Sir Fitz Roy Kelly, and had fed his mind with all that was lasting in the legal literatures of England and America. It was no wonder then, although, as he himself modestly declared, "in a very

private station," that he was invited by Chief Justice Taney and his associates, on March 21, 1864, to become the Reporter of the Supreme Court of the United States. The labors thus compassed cover the vast increase of business caused by the Civil War, the growth of our railway system, the multiplication of patents, the extension of our domestic and foreign commerce, and by new and grave questions of constitutional law.

*Becomes
Reporter
to the
Supreme
Court of
the United
States*

He refreshed the dryness of his legal studies by devotion to the choicest books, to the arts, painting, sculpture and architecture, and had so thoroughly mastered ecclesiastical history that upon vital questions touching the origin and development of the doctrines, discipline and ritual of the church, but few, even of the clergy, were better furnished.

*His
General
Scholarship*

Reserved in temperament, he shunned general associations. Though not unsocial he entertained very positive likes and dislikes of individuals as well as of peoples and political parties. He preferred the Latin races to those of purely Teutonic blood. A sturdy Federalist of the strict school of Hamilton, he distrusted the Democratic party. Mr. Flanders has illustrated this trait by saying, "Although this latter feeling did not prevent or interrupt his friendship for individual Democrats, yet, I suspect, there was always an after-thought in his mind, that these unhappy people had inherited and were tainted with somewhat more of original sin than might otherwise have fallen to their lot." He added, "Mr. Wallace, from temperament, from association, from his habits of study and habits of life, stood in the ranks of the conservatives. He looked to the past rather than to the future."

*His Poli-
tical Predi-
lections*

The present writer recalls him as one of the kindest of men, considerate to youthful endeavor, generous in the communication of knowledge, useful in criticism, and striking in the beauty and freedom of expression. His correspondent from Washington, at a time when the writer was a legal editor, furnished advanced copies of forthcoming opinions of the Justices of the Supreme Court, and contained admirable suggestions for editorial comment. His autograph letters, written without the erasure or substitution of a word in a script so legibly perfect as to refute the common slander upon the handwriting of lawyers, are still cherished as precious me-

*His Per-
sonal Char-
acteristics*

mentoes of a friendship to which the writer owes his membership in this Society, dating back to October, 1874. As a presiding officer, he was ever attentive and ready with apt words of acknowledgment of deserving efforts. As a toast-master he was happy in his introductions, with a flavor of scholarship, unsuspecting of its quaintness, but never offending good taste by pedantry or loquaciousness. As a speaker, he was nervous and excitable, with a high and penetrating voice, but never too rapid to be inarticulate or too shrill to be irritating. His public addresses recall the lines of Sir John Denham:

Though deep, yet clear; though gentle, yet not dull;
Strong without rage; without o'erflowing full.

*His Notable
Address on
William
Bradford,
Printer*

The address, of all others, which riveted the attention of historical and literary scholars, at home and abroad, upon Mr. Wallace, was that delivered by him on May 20, 1863, at the celebration by the New York Historical Society of the two hundredth birthday of William Bradford, who introduced the art of printing into the middle colonies of British America. In another chapter, attention was given to the participation by this Society on that occasion as a highly honorable part of our history.* It is now in place to note the discourse by Mr. Wallace as illustrating most vividly his extraordinary gifts. No other paper of its kind of which we have knowledge, exhibits such varied and "numerous graces which no methods teach, and which a master hand alone can reach."

*The Style
of the
Address*

The style is inimitable. Were another man to adopt it, it would be censured for introversions, diffuseness and too excessive an indulgence in parenthetical facetiae. But with Mr. Wallace it was successful, because free from personal affectation. His mental movements, light, agile, graceful, yet determined and full of irrepressible strength, resembled the quivering muscles of the race horse, playful and spirited even in serious action. It is remarkable that a carefully prepared written address, closely read from manuscript, should reveal sudden flashes of humor like sunlight flickering upon leaves. Then too, there were delicate compliments to the ladies in his audience, like the lowering of his lance by a gallant knight

* *Ante*, Chapter XXI.

as he tilted in the lists, and caught the eyes of "the lovely Inez" and the "faire Imogene." Thus, while exhibiting the water mark upon the paper on which his address was written—paper one hundred and seventy years old, made at the Rittenhouse mill upon the Wissahickon, the first in America—he insisted that it was a violet and not a clover leaf as asserted by Horatio Gates Jones, who had written of the mill. "The matter is important," he declared. "I see no way to decide the solemn point, but to let Mr. Jones give his clover to the men; allowing me to offer my violets, as I humbly do, to you ladies." Again, when exhibiting a very little book, printed by Bradford, entitled *A Letter of Advice to a Young Gentleman leaving the University Concerning his Behaviour and Conversation in the World*, Mr. Wallace remarked, "You see that the young gentlemen of New York, in A.D. 1696, when this book was printed, needed very *little* advice. As for the young ladies—since I have never heard that Bradford printed a companion to the volume—it is plain that the case was in 1696, as it is now; those lovely creatures, discreet, always, as they are charming, needed—no advice at all."

His Delicacies of Allusion

The solid merits of the address were these. In reviewing with exactness the history of the art of printing in the colonies from the days of Cotton Mather to those of Franklin, he established that even in Massachusetts no book or newspaper was issued for eighteen years after the settlement of that province; that Virginia and Maryland forbade the art entirely; that William Penn, desirous to give to his prospective colony the benefit of the printing press, was accompanied in the *Welcome*, on his first voyage to Pennsylvania, by William Bradford, then in his twentieth year, who had been taught the art by Andrew Sowle, a printer and publisher in London. Bradford's visit was one of exploration. Satisfied, apparently, with conditions, he returned to London, and made preparations to establish himself in America. Carrying a letter of George Fox—the renowned founder of the Quakers—dated "London, 6 month 1685," addressed to his friends by name in Rhode Island, East Jersey, West Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Maryland, Bradford set up his press, as early imprints show, *near* Philadelphia. Some conjectured that it was at Kensington, not far from the

Bradford's Primacy as a Printer

treaty tree; others, that it was at Abington, or probably at Burlington, N. J., where numerous descendants of Bradford were to be found in later days. Certain it is, that he printed an almanac for 1686, edited by Samuel Atkins, entitled *Kalendarium Pennsilvaniense or America's Messenger*. One of the two known copies of this almanac is in the possession of this Society. The imprint shows that it was printed in Philadelphia in 1685, and was also sold by William Bradford.

*Issues of
the Brad-
ford Press*

In giving in detail an account of the various issues of the Bradford press, Mr. Wallace laid particular stress upon a volume printed in 1688, entitled *The Temple of Wisdom*, containing Lord Bacon's essays, thus "making the Genius of Lord Verulam to shine upon a new world," and also upon "Proposals for the Printing of a Large Bible by William Bradford." This broadside was dated at "Philadelphia, the 14th of the 1st month, 1688." This precious paper, now in the possession of this Society, the knowledge of which had been lost for one hundred and fifty years, had been then but recently found by Nathan Kite, a bookseller of Philadelphia, by wetting the inner lining paper of the binding of a venerable quarto in the Friends' Library. Stirred by so notable a discovery, Mr. Wallace characteristically exclaimed:

*A Long
Lost
Broadside*

You are aware that until quite lately it was universally supposed that Cotton Mather, the great Independent Minister of Boston, was the first person to propose this vast labour. He did it in 1695; eight years after Bradford. It is now certain, therefore, that we are entirely ahead of New England in these regions, and that to William Bradford, the first printer of Pennsylvania, New York and New Jersey, the honour really belongs.

The fact is, ladies and gentlemen—it is a melancholy thing to say—but I must say the truth—I am here tonight, I suppose, for that exact purpose—the fact is, that we people of the Middle States are so excessively modest—like that good man, Iago, we so 'lack iniquity to do

ourselves service'—that it is not at all surprising that our sprightly sister states of New England really thought they were quite alone in this glory. The fault is ours, not theirs; and the *moral* is that we must not be so very modest for the time to come; at least not so in doing honour to our departed worthies.

The simplicity of one item of the proposals is curious, and was seized upon by Mr. Wallace with the instinctive perception of a true historian, as illustrating not only Bradford's own zeal in disseminating the Scriptures, but as also showing the primitive state of commerce in infant Philadelphia. It ran thus:

The pay shall be half silver money, and half country produce at money price. But they who really have not money and yet are willing to encourage the said work, goods at money price shall *satisfie*.

Mr. Wallace challenged the publishers of the Bible of his generation—the Harpers, the Appletons—whether they would be willing to propose publication on *those* terms. To silver, possibly they might not object, but would they be willing to please their wives by accepting some of Mr. Stewart's point laces, a few camel's hair shawls, or a diamond necklace and ear rings from Tiffany's or Ball and Blacks'? Would these *satisfie*? *

*Humor of
Mr.
Wallace*

Mr. Wallace did not assert that the proposals for printing the Bible were ever acted upon,† but, in this connection in his

* It may be noted in passing that the imprint upon the almanac of 1685, shows that William Bradford kept a general store of stationery supplies and small household goods. This example was followed by Franklin thirty-five years later.

† The proposals contemplated a printing in folio with marginal notes. This was a task of magnitude and expense. The present writer cannot find that it was ever executed. Mr. Wallace does not solve the question, but suggests that Bradford's difficulties with Governor Blackwell and the provincial council over the unlicensed printing by him of Penn's Charter, discouraged him, especially Blackwell's remark: "Sir, we are within the King's dominions, and the laws of England are in force *here* . . . and they are against printing." Mr. A. Edward Newton, the foremost authority upon the various editions of

Bradford's
Proposal

memorable address, referred to the facts that the proposals contemplated also the publication of the Book of Common Prayer, and that the records of Trinity Church, New York, contained several entries which showed that the church wardens on August 23, 1704, loaned Bradford money for purchasing paper to print "Comon [*sic*] Prayer Books," and that on April 26, 1711, forgave him the debt "in consideration of the great loss he has sustained in printing the Common Prayer and New Version of the Psalms." From these entries he conjectured that the Prayer Book had been printed, although no known copy had survived, and that the work must have been issued sometime prior to 1714.*

the Bible in his recently published *The Greatest Book in the World*, writes that "the first Bible printed in what is now the United States was the so-called Eliot Bible, with an unpronounceable title, published for the use of the Indians. This was printed in Cambridge, Massachusetts, in 1661. A Bible in German was printed by Christopher Sauer at Germantown, Pennsylvania, in 1743. The mother country never permitted her colonies to print a Bible in English; every copy had to be imported from England, although a profitable business was done in smuggling Bibles printed in English from the Continent—especially from Holland—into this country." He states that the first Bible in English, printed in the United States, was published under the auspices of the Continental Congress, in 1782. The imprint reads as follows: "Philadelphia: Printed and Sold by R. Aitken. At Pope's Head, Three Doors above the Coffee House, in Market Street—M.D.CC.LXXXII." A copy of this edition is in the possession of this Society. Mr. Newton does not refer to the Bradford proposals, but what he asserts is confirmatory of Mr. Wallace's conjecture as to the effect upon William Bradford of Governor Blackwell's remark. *See also* Dr. Norton's address before the American Antiquarian Society in April, 1927.

* It was, however, doubted, by many bibliophiles of New York, whether the work had ever appeared. The doubt was not dispelled until 1870, when John W. Jordan, Jr., found a copy in the Moravian Church of this city, and then the doubt was completely dispelled *only* by sending the book to New York to be seen of all who doubted. It is interesting to note that the sceptics were so well pleased with the discovery that they had the book expensively bound before returning it. That copy now ranks upon our shelves as one of the first of rare American books, the only specimen of "this *Editio Princeps Americana* of a book which now covers a continent in numberless forms." The discovery vindicated the sagacity of Mr. Wallace. The book bears the imprint of William Bradford at New York in 1710. The finding was made the subject of a privately printed paper by Horatio Gates Jones, entitled "The Bradford Prayer Book, 1710," bound in *Miscellaneous Publications of The Historical Society of Pennsylvania*, II. *See also* note to Wallace's address, p. 82. *See also Catalogue of the Paintings and Other Objects of Interest belonging to The Historical Society of Pennsylvania*, 59-60, Philadelphia, 1872. In a report of

In March, 1693, Bradford, because of difficulties, presently to be noticed, with the authorities in Pennsylvania over unlicensed printing, removed to New York in pursuance of an invitation of the council to settle in New York and print the Acts of Assembly and public papers. Mr. Wallace reviewed his work in New York, as well as in New Jersey, Connecticut, Rhode Island and Maryland, and justified by a long array of instances the claim of Bradford to be regarded as "the Caxton of our Middle States."

*Removal to
New York*

The highest title of Bradford to the respect of posterity, Mr. Wallace asserted, was that: "He was the first man, anywhere, so far as I know, to maintain the freedom of the press against arbitrary power." Twice was he put upon trial before the provincial council of Pennsylvania, sitting as a court. He defended himself with fearless spirit, anticipating by forty-three years the bold and successful defence of John Peter Zenger in New York by Andrew Hamilton of Pennsylvania, which in itself preceded by fifty years Mr. Erskine's celebrated, but unsuccessful defence of the Dean of St. Asaph before the Court of King's Bench. These trials, Mr. Wallace declared, were "evidence of the fact, interesting to the whole Bar and Press of America, and especially interesting to the Bar and Press of the Middle Colonies, that, on the soil of Pennsylvania, the father of our press asserted, in 1692, with a precision not since surpassed, a principle in the law of libel hardly then conceived anywhere, but which now protects every publication in much of our Union; a principle which English judges, after the struggles of the great Whig Chief Justice and

*Mr.
Bradford's
Assertion
of the
Liberty
of the
Press*

Council to The Historical Society of Pennsylvania, specially printed, and dated May 3, 1880 (*Miscellaneous Publications*, IV), the statement is made:

The Vestry of Christ Church has presented a copy of the *Book of Common Prayer*, printed by William Bradford in 1710, the first edition printed in America. Although, this volume was not perfect, its value to the Society can be fully appreciated, when it is known that it has enabled it to supply what was wanting in the copy presented some years ago by Mr. John Jordan, Jr., making, so far as is now known, the only complete copy of the book in existence.

Chancellor, Lord Camden, through his whole career, and of the brilliant declaimer, Mr. Erskine, were unable to reach, and which, at a later date (1792) became finally established in England only by the enactment of Mr. Fox's Libel Bill in Parliament itself." *

Enough has been presented to enable the reader to judge of the flavor and substance of Mr. Wallace's incomparable address. No abstract can do it justice. In summing up he exhibited folio specimens, elegantly bound, of William Bradford's *Laws of Her Majesties Colony of New York* of 1709; Andrew Bradford's *Laws of the Province of Pennsylvania*, 1714, and 1728, and William Bradford, the Second's laws of New Jersey, 1753, exclaiming: "Father, son and grandson, printers every one of them to Provinces or Crowns! Where or when did the printer's calling ever rise to greater worldly pride?" †

* Apart from the extracts given in Mr. Wallace's address, the reader can consult *The Forum*, I, 281, by David Paul Brown; Thomas' *History of Printing*, II, 12-24; *Minutes of Provincial Council*, I, 326, et seq.; Penny-packer's *Colonial Cases*. See also as to Andrew Hamilton, Vol. II of this *History*.

† Mr. Wallace's commemorative address was superbly printed by the New York Historical Society as a special pamphlet, printed in Albany, N. Y., 1863, by T. Munsell. Copies are in the possession of The Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

CHAPTER XXV

Administration of John William Wallace, 1868-1883

*Accessions to the Library — The Picture House — Formal Opening
of the New Hall — Mr. Wallace's Address*

MR. WALLACE'S companions in office were gentlemen who have been already introduced to the attention of the reader—Doctor B. H. Coates, Aubrey H. Smith, John M. Read, Horatio Gates Jones, as Vice-Presidents; Samuel L. Smedley, as Recording Secretary; J. Edward Carpenter, as Treasurer. At the same time, the Reverend Richard Eddy resigned as Librarian, after three years of service, and the Reverend James Shrigley was chosen as his successor. Richard L. Nicholson was added to the library committee, and Frederick D. Stone and Edward Pennington, Jr., both of them in the flush of youthful ardor, were placed upon the publication committee, with John Jordan, Jr.

*Mr.
Wallace's
Associates
in Office
in the
Society*

Mr. Wallace was particularly attentive to his duties, missing no meetings of the Society and the Council. For eight months the affairs of the Society ran in a placid stream, fed by the constant influx of books and pamphlets in swelling rivulets. In December, 1868, an event occurred of signal importance. On the 14th, the death of Doctor George W. Fahnestock was announced. He had perished ten days before, with his only child, a daughter, in the disaster by fire befalling the steamer *United States* on the Ohio River, near Madison, Indiana. His will disclosed that he had bequeathed to this Society his then matchless collection of pamphlets, computed to contain more than fifty thousand items.*

*The Fahne-
stock Be-
quest of
Pamphlets*

Moved by the magnitude of the bequest, which made the library one of the most important in the country in the eyes of

* In the inaugural address delivered by President Wallace on the opening of the new Hall, March 11, 1872, the statement is made that the collection embraced 70,000 items. This is doubtless the more accurate estimate than the smaller one appearing on the Minutes of January, 1869, as the removal into the new Hall furnished an opportunity for closer examination.

Action of the Society historical scholars, the Council was ordered, on January 11, 1869, that "the collection . . . be deposited in the South apartment of the present rooms of the Society and shall be known and designated as the Fahnestock collection.

"That in any new edifice to be erected . . . the Fahnestock collection shall be kept in alcoves or apartments, distinguished from the general library and collection, and shall continue to bear the name of its munificent donor." At a special meeting, convened two weeks later, this action was reconsidered. Mr. J. A. McAllister stated that owing to the vast scope and variety of the collection, which was rich in material relating to the diverse sources of our history, it had been ascertained that great inconvenience would result from a complete segregation of the Fahnestock collection. It was then resolved, January 25, 1869, "That in any new edifice to be erected for the general objects of the Society the Fahnestock Collection shall be kept in separate alcoves or apartments as far as is practicable, and the volumes distinguished by an appropriate book plate bearing the name of the munificent donor."*

Action of the Legislature The legislature by special act dated March 20, 1869, released the Fahnestock bequest from the payment of the collateral inheritance tax.†

It is the duty of the historian to atone, so far as is now practicable, for the inevitable consequences of the blending of the tens of thousands of Fahnestock pamphlets with the general mass. No separate catalogue was ever attempted. The task was beyond the strength of the Librarian, and beyond the means of the Society. The multitudinous credits to the name of Fahnestock in the Accession Books appear only as the items were taken from their boxes, and are scattered over years. It would be a vain task to re-assemble them by segregating the book plates.

Sketch of George W. Fahnestock Justice, though tardy, requires that the name of George W. Fahnestock be placed upon the roll of our most conspicuous benefactors. The memoir prepared by J. Fletcher Williams,

* A portrait of George W. Fahnestock in oil was presented to the Society in October, 1896, by the Estate of Mrs. Fahnestock.

† Strange to say, the Act appears in the Pamphlet Laws of 1873, p. 937, and not in those of the year of passage.

and read at the meeting of this Society in March, 1872, was never printed, and has been long forgotten. Briefly, Fahnestock was the son of Benjamin A. Fahnestock of Philadelphia, and was born at Chambersburg, Pa., on September 23, 1813, and died in his fifty-sixth year. He was a man of diversified attainments, an excellent German and French scholar, a scientific botanist, a practical horticulturist, and a student of economics and history. Inheriting large wealth, he became an ardent collector of books and especially pamphlets relating to American history in all its branches. He maintained a private secretary and librarian, who attended all public and private sales, and bought without stint. He was generous in his gifts to several public libraries, especially to the Minnesota Historical Society, but his most munificent bequest was to this Society. Let him be remembered in the words of Rabelais, "Time which gnaws and diminishes all things else, augments and increaseth benefits; because a noble action of liberality, done by a man of reason to men of reason, doth grow continually—first, by generosity of thinking; second, by grateful remembrance."

It was natural that the acquisition of the Fahnestock collection should spur the committee in search of new, enlarged and safe quarters into fresh activities. We have noted how emphatically James Ross Snowden and John Jordan, Jr., had dwelt in their appeal to the citizens of Pennsylvania in 1865* upon the dangers of fire, and the inconvenience of access to rooms on the third floor of a tall building. During the three succeeding years, they had sought persistently an eligible site, but in vain. In the librarian's report of January 11, 1869, the statement was made that of volumes on the shelves there were then 11,483, and of pamphlets and magazines there were 12,910 *exclusive* of the Fahnestock bequest. Moreover, there was not space sufficient to display the portraits, engravings and curios. All were huddled together, regardless of rank, station, life or value. "Ought we to rest satisfied with our present attainments? Are we faithful to our trust?" asked the new librarian in dismay. The next month, having made an assault upon the Fahnestock boxes, he reported the total of books,

*Search for
New
Quarters*

*State of the
Library in
1869*

* *Ante*, Chapter XXIII, 336-7.

pamphlets and works of art as 48,570, and there were more and still more to come.

*Attempt to
Purchase a
Lot on
Sixteenth
Street*

In desperation, the committee on a new site broke suddenly far away from the classic neighborhood of Sixth and Walnut Streets, and reported on November 8, 1869, through John Jordan, Jr., that a lot had been secured for "the use of the society on the east side of Sixteenth Street near Locust Street for the sum of Seven thousand five hundred dollars, having a building erected upon it, which had formerly been used for a school house." The lot had a frontage of twenty feet, and a depth of ninety feet. It was reported that there was \$10,000 in the hands of the trustees of the building fund. Thereupon, the twelve gentlemen present, overlooking the absence of President Wallace in Washington, on his official business as United States Reporter, on motion of Secretary Smedley, impulsively adopted a resolution approving the purchase, and directing trustee Jordan of the building fund to sell and assign the bonds of the United States and of the city of Philadelphia in his hands, and apply the proceeds to the settlement.

*Difficulties
Encoun-
tered*

At the next meeting, it was reported that the title papers for the property purchased were being prepared, by Charles Muirhead, a well known conveyancer, but that time was required to perfect them. In April, 1870, the president still being absent, it was reported that the deed for the new building was prepared, but the settlement could not yet be made. In the meantime, the Council had been informed, in a somewhat apologetic report of the special committee, that there was a difficulty in obtaining title, but—worst of all—that the appeal to members for special subscriptions had been coldly received—only seventeen members in upwards of six hundred having responded. It had been ascertained also that the newly acquired property required costly alterations and improvements and the greatly increased insurance on the library—if removed—was necessary. Vigorous action was resorted to. The powerful names of John Welsh, S. Morris Waln and Clarence H. Clark were added to the committee, and the Fidelity Insurance, Safe Deposit and Trust Company, then recently incorporated, was appointed to act as trustee of the fund to be collected. Mr. Wallace having returned to the Council, after

the rising of the Supreme Court of the United States in May, 1870, forced the issue as to title by securing the passage of the following:

Resolved, that the Committee on property be authorized at their discretion to give notice to Edward Irwin that unless he deliver to the Society a Deed for the property recently purchased—No 221 South 16th St.—upon terms which they deem just they will proceed in Equity to compel the delivery of such deed; and that they be authorized at their discretion, after notice, to proceed accordingly.

The matter was then placed in the hands of Aubrey H. Smith, Esq., as counsel.

It was not long before Mr. Smith ascertained that Mr. Irwin was not alone in his recalcitrancy. Others claimed an interest in the property, and challenged his right to sell. In the meantime, the committee, of which Richard L. Nicholson was chairman, and Frederick D. Stone, Edward Pennington, Jr., Addison Hutton, James C. Hand, James Ross Snowden and Spencer Bonsall were members, had examined the property with a view to alterations and improvements, and reported that even if these were made there would remain a serious lack of capacity. All thought of the Sixteenth Street site was then abandoned, and the wearisome search for new and spacious quarters was resumed.

Abandonment of Sixteenth Street Site

Happily—most happily as the results have proved—the committee learned that the completely detached two-story building standing on the south side of Spruce Street, between Eighth and Ninth Streets, on the grounds of the Pennsylvania Hospital, known as the Picture Building was unoccupied, and that liberal arrangements could be made with the managers of the hospital for a long term, inclusive of the right to make extensive additions. The old committee was discharged and Richard L. Nicholson, Frederick D. Stone, John William Wallace and John Jordan, Jr., were fully empowered to close the matter. A term of ten years at a nominal rent was agreed upon; all additions to the building were to be made at the

"The Picture Building" Secured

exclusive expense of the Society, and were to become the property of the hospital at the expiration of the lease. These terms were novel in those days, but are now familiar as those of an improvement lease. Such was the status at the close of the year 1870. There was \$4,400 in the building fund; there were uncollected subscriptions of \$1,600 and new subscriptions were called for to a prospective fund of \$10,000. Such was the modest base of an undertaking, bold for a Society with but 600 members of all classes, of whom less than 100 were men of means. A full year was required to make the alterations, and it was not until March 11, 1872, that the new Hall was thrown open to the public.

Association
with
Benjamin
West

As the Picture Building was to remain for twelve years the home of the Society, and was the first to be enjoyed in exclusive occupancy, it is not amiss to devote a few paragraphs to its history. The sentiment attached to the unchanged building was itself inspiring. Although, tracing its origin to events long prior to the founding of this Society, yet the association was with Benjamin West—a native of Pennsylvania—of whose works the Society possesses and cherishes an unrivalled collection, the most notable being the full length portrait picture of William Hamilton of the Woodlands and his niece, Mrs. Lyle.*

In September, 1800, the managers of the Pennsylvania Hospital had addressed to Benjamin West, then President of the Royal Academy, a letter asking for a contribution from his brush. The great painter was reminded that the object of the hospital was the relief of maniacs and sick poor in Pennsylvania; that the English contributors to the enterprise included many of his own acquaintance—such worthies as the late Dr. John Fothergill and David Barclay—but in applying to strangers, their own countrymen were not to be overlooked. "However long they may have been absent, and however remote from the place of their birth," it was urged, "their bosoms glow with ardent affection toward it, and they feel an impulse, which they seldom resist, to promote in its [*sic*] works

* See the "Life and Works of Benjamin West," by the present writer—in *The Pennsylvania Magazine*, XLV, 301, *et seq.* For original pictures by West owned by the Society, see *post*, Vol. II, Ch. XIII.

of utility and taste." It was delicately but adroitly added that "the works of an artist which ornament the palace of his king cannot fail to honor him in his native land."

Mr. West replied by letter dated from London, July 8, 1801, expressing his gratification in accepting the proposal, so honorable to himself:

The subject I have chosen is analogous to the situation. It is the Redeemer of mankind extending his aid to the afflicted and of all ranks and conditions. The Passage is from St. Matthew, chapter 21, verses 14 and 15: 'And the blind and the lame came to Him in the Temple; and He healed them. . . .' The design for the picture I have made from the above passage. The picture will be sixteen feet long by ten feet high, including the frame.*

Almost ten years passed. In April, 1811, Mr. West announced that he had completed the picture, with such success as to lead the noblemen and gentlemen of the British institution to insist that it should remain in London as the commencement of a national gallery. The request was accompanied by a voluntary remuneration of three thousand guineas. Unable to resist the importunities of the principal patrons of art in a country where his genius had been fostered and his labors rewarded for half a century, the painter met the dilemma by promising to paint for the hospital another picture "on a more improved plan of composition," introducing "a demoniac with his attendant relations, by which circumstance is introduced most of the maladies which were healed by Our Saviour." He added, "I trust on this occasion my liberal countrymen will not be angry with me in thus presenting to their Hospital a better picture in this second production, than it would have received in the first instance." †

*West's
Picture of
Christ
Healing the
Sick*

Four more years passed, and in September, 1815, Mr. West announced that he had finished his picture, and that it was

* The *History of the Pennsylvania Hospital, 1751-1895*, by Thomas G. Morton, M.D., assisted by Frank Woodbury, A.M., M.D. Revised Edition, pp. 305-307. Philadelphia Times Printing House, 1897.

† *Ibid.*, p. 309.

*Special
Building
Erected by
The Penn-
sylvania
Hospital
for the
Display of
the Picture*

*The Action
of Congress*

*Earnings of
the Picture
for the
Hospital*

*Description
of "The
Picture
Building"*

ready for delivery when the hospital was ready to receive it. Thereupon, in March, 1816, the managers announced that they intended to erect a separate building for its exhibition. A special fund was raised for the purpose, Stephen Girard heading the list of subscribers in the sum of one thousand dollars. It was not until March 1, 1817, that the building was ready. The actual shipment was by the *Electra*, sailing from London on the 17th of August, and arriving with its precious consignment at Philadelphia on the 13th of October. A letter accompanied the gift: "Mr. West bequeaths the said picture to the Hospital in the joint names of himself and his wife, the late Elizabeth West, as their gratuitous offering and as a humble record of their patriotic affection for the State of Pennsylvania, in which they first inhaled the vital air—thus to perpetuate in her native city of Philadelphia the sacred memory of that amiable lady who was his companion in life for fifty years and three months." * Congress in the following December at the instance of Henry Clay, by special Act remitted the import duty, thus following the example of the Lords of the Treasury in remitting the export duty. †

The picture earned for the hospital, during the time that it was on exhibition in the Picture Building, between the years 1818 and 1848, the sum of \$23,820.75, which was used in endowing thirty beds. ‡ Is it too much to conjecture that a recollection of the munificence of the artist, and the productivity of his gift may have influenced the managers of the hospital in 1870 in encouraging the aims and in promoting the success of this Society?

A glance at the illustration facing this page will aid the reader in following the description of the building. It will be observed that the upper central part stands back from the street, while the lower entrance stands flush with flanking walls enclosing the grounds of the hospital. The wings, whose united

* *Ibid.*, p. 312.

† *Ibid.*, p. 311.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 394. The picture is now impressively displayed in the entrance hall of the hospital, without charge. Its various shiftings of position, and the corresponding changes in the use of the Picture Building, preceding and following its occupancy by this Historical Society belong to the history of the Pennsylvania Hospital.

measurement was fifty by twenty feet, are again distinctly recessed, and with the projecting entrance constituted the additions made by the Society. The upper central part was pierced by three gothic windows, the frontal façade measured but eighteen feet, but the building was forty-two feet deep. It was in a room upon the second floor that the picture was exhibited. Mr. West was distinctly disappointed with the exterior of the building, although he had been assured by Mr. Sully that the room which was to contain his picture was very appropriate. In a letter, dated March 2, 1817, addressed from Newman Street, London, to the managers, he expressed himself most forcibly:

Respecting the Building which is to contain my Pictures, I must take leave to observe that it is very remote from my Intention to depreciate the Merits of the Architect who erected it, in making the following Observations, but I think there is a Misapplication of Gothic Architecture to a Place where the Refinement of Science is to be inculcated, and which in my humble Opinion ought to have been founded on those clear and self evident Principles adopted by the Greeks— . . . In giving my free Opinion of this Subject, I beg you will rest assured that I mean not to underrate the Talents of Mr. Webb as an Architect—It is the Gothic Taste I combat with, as inapplicable to the Building in question, for that Architecture is the Insignia of a Period, when the civilized World had passed away, Science had fled, and the Mind of Man lay in Darkness—Then arose monkish Superstition and monkish Taste—but now, that Science has arisen, let the Cities of America in their Streets and in their Highways proclaim its Ascendancy by every visible Mark of its eternal Truth— . . . and that Pennsylvania may ever retain that Preëminence, both in Truth and Science, is the most ardent Wish of

*Mr. West's
Criticism
of the
Building*

Yours Very Sincerely,
Benj. West.*

* *History of the Pennsylvania Hospital, ut cit.*, p. 311.

*Changes
Made in
the Building
to Fit it
for Pur-
poses of
the Society*

The changes made by the Society were described in a publication in March, 1872, as a preface to Mr. Wallace's inaugural address upon the opening of the new Hall.

The rooms have been arranged excellently for their purposes. There is a vestibule eighteen feet wide on the lower floor, and immediately in the rear a room twenty feet by twenty-six, having on each side other rooms twenty feet square. On the right side of the vestibule there is a fireproof room, ten feet by twenty, for the deposit of heavy articles of value, while opposite this on the left side rises the staircase leading to the second story. . . . The second floor of the building consists of one long room, running from east to west, a length of sixty-eight feet, and from north to south in the centre, about forty-two feet. It is this width over the vestibule and entry below, and over a bay window eighteen feet wide and six feet deep on the south side. Beyond the lines of these, the room is twenty feet wide. The space occupied by the fire-proof below is also taken up by one above. These have both double iron doors, iron shutters to their windows, are fitted up with shelving and drawers, and have full ventilating properties. The fire-proof chamber up stairs is intended to contain valuable manuscripts, &c., &c. The ceiling of the library proper is eighteen feet high.*

*The Out-
look and
Surround-
ings*

The outlook on all sides was open and shaded by large trees. A noble line of ten great buttonwoods or oriental planes planted in 1756 by Hugh Roberts, flourished within the brick wall on the Spruce Street side of the hospital garden until felled to make way for the Garrett Memorial Buildings in 1897. These trees had been saved from destruction by a special act of the legislature of April 3, 1872, exempting them from the provision of the earlier act of May 10, 1871, defining the

* Wallace's address—*Miscellaneous Publications of The Historical Society of Pennsylvania*, II.

line on which that part of Spruce Street was to be widened.* A superb Kentucky coffee tree of the locust family spread its branches fifty feet above the sidewalk at the immediate southwest corner of Eighth and Spruce Streets, and dropped its ripened pods containing coffee-like beans upon the sidewalk to the joy of boys in search of smoking material. The mighty elm, said to have been planted by Washington, and still in vigorous health, was in full view of the bay window on the southern side of the new Hall of the Society. Beneath were spread the gardens with gravelled walks, bordered with spicy box wood, and redolent of the fragrance of wistaria, lilacs, *philadelphus*, honey-suckle and roses, in season. To the north, on the opposite side of Spruce Street was the Jewish burying ground, still in existence, containing the grave of Rebecca Gratz, whose beauty of face, form and character, as delineated by her friend, Washington Irving, to Sir Walter Scott, had persuaded the great novelist to make her the real heroine of *Ivanhoe*. The cemetery is still shaded by a large weeping willow, and by a black cherry tree.†

*The Jewish
Burying
Ground*

At the northeast corner of Ninth and Spruce Streets there then stood in full sunshine the Friends' (Hicksite) Meeting House, of which the estimable Deborah F. Wharton, mother of the late Joseph Wharton, was minister. On the northwest corner, surrounded by a high brick wall enclosing an old fashioned garden, sweet with flowers and shaded by an English elm of impressive growth, there rose an "ivy mantled" three storied dwelling house with a hipped roof. Just to the north on the west side of Ninth Street, stood and still stands a bluish grey sanded house, endwise to the street, with entrance facing the south, as in Charleston, which was once occupied by Joseph Bonaparte. The dining room walls of this house are still decorated by frescoes after designs by the imperial painter David. Within half a block to the south, noiseless, shady Clinton Street ran to Eleventh Street. Old fashioned dwellings stood, and in part still stand on the north side of Spruce above Eighth Street, separated then from the Jewish cemetery by

*The Sur-
roundings
of the
New Hall*

* *History of the Pennsylvania Hospital, ut cit.*, p. 100.

† This ancient and but little used burying ground is now kept in exquisite order through the pious care of our fellow member, J. Bunford Samuel, Esq. [1928].

two one and a half storied wooden rustic cottages, which were supplanted ten years later by an out-patients' department of the Pennsylvania Hospital.

*Attractions
of the New
Hall*

Such were the surroundings of the new Hall—constituting a veritable *rus in urbe*. Delectable years were spent there by the officers and members of the Society, nor were the doors closed to either members or strangers until after ten o'clock p.m. It was a trysting spot for book lovers and students after the labors of the day. The heavy task of removing the possessions of the Society from the Athenaeum to the new Hall required the personal attention of more than the Librarian. There was also the lure of neighborliness. Mr. Wallace lived within two hundred feet of the Picture House; Vice President Coates within half a block; Frederick D. Stone on Pine Street below Eighth; Edwin T. Eisenbrey, the custodian of the keys to the building, and a zealous Councillor, at the southeast corner of Ninth and Spruce Streets, while Townsend Ward, John Coats Browne and Charles R. Hildeburn were residents of Clinton Street. It was an animated as well as busy company, and many a conversation was provoked by the "scents that stole from the winding sheets" of ancient manuscripts and books mingled with the breath of the gardens.

It was the privilege of the present writer in his early manhood to know of these things, and to hear those men talk as they worked. To him they were counsellors, teachers and friends, whose memories are still fragrant.

The minutes of the Council, under date of January 22, 1872, contain two entries of interest which attest the activities of the building committee, and the success crowning its efforts during the preceding eighteen months. The first of these reads as follows:

Whereas the indefatigable labour of Mr. Richard L. Nicholson, Chairman of the Building Committee, has achieved in the new Hall and its complete arrangements, a success not less gratifying to the members of the Society than creditable to himself; and inasmuch as it is desirable to express our high appreciation of his most valuable services, therefore be it

Resolved, That Mrs. Elizabeth V. A. Nicholson and Miss Mary Clark Nicholson, the wife and daughter of Mr. Nicholson, be made and they are hereby made Life members of the Society.

*Resolution
of Thanks
of the
Council*

Resolved, That the Secretary of the Society shall communicate to those Ladies a copy of these proceedings.

The second entry reads:

The following circular was ordered to be printed.

The Historical Society of Pennsylvania,
No. 820 Spruce St., Philadelphia.

We have the pleasure to inform you that the Historical Society of Pennsylvania has removed its library, collections and offices, to their new Hall, No. 820 Spruce St., which at present is to be open for members, their families and friends, until the first of May next, from 10 A.M. till 2 P.M., and in the evening from 7 till 10 o'clock.

*Notice of
Removal of
Society*

As the undersigned were the Committee appointed twenty-five years ago to notify the members of the removal to the Athenaeum Building, it has been deemed proper that a fact so interesting should appear on the minutes of the Society in the emphatic form of their continuance as a Committee again to notify the members of a removal which it is hoped may be followed by a still greater increase of prosperity.

John Jordan, Jr.,
William Duane
John T. Lewis } Committee

February 15, 1872.

To signalize more impressively a step which was truly a great one in the progress of the Society, it was resolved to inaugurate the Hall in form. The President was requested to deliver an address of inauguration; Dr. Benjamin H. Coates,

*Prepara-
tions for
Formal
Opening*

the senior vice-president, and one of the founders, was invited to read a poem; and George Washington Smith, the only other surviving founder, the man whom DeWitt Clinton had inspired with the enthusiasm which supported the activities of Roberts Vaux and Thomas I. Wharton,* but who had dropped out of service and lost his membership through his frequent journeys abroad, was formally reinstated as a member. The programme as arranged was carried out on the evening of March 11, 1872. Mr. Smith some months later laid the foundation of the present Library Fund for the purchase of books by enclosing a check for one thousand dollars in a letter in which he expressed the hope that it would prove the commencement of a permanent library fund, securely set apart and devoted to the enlargement and maintenance of the library, and as a mark of his good will and of the sincere satisfaction with which he witnessed the late efforts made through the liberality of certain members of the Society to place its concerns on a base worthy of its object.

One week after the formal opening of the Hall, the following letter was addressed to the venerable Horace Binney, then in his ninety-second year:

Philadelphia, March 19, 1872.

Dear Sir:

*Election of
Horace
Binney as
a Member*

The Historical Society of the State deeming it a matter which in after times might invite remark upon it, that a person born as they believe in this City, so long and usefully connected with the State and it, and so much identified with the honorable reputation of both at home and abroad, should not be a member of an association whose purpose it is to preserve such reputation for all time,—a Society of which most of your distinguished fellow citizens since 1824 have been members—have ventured to elect you into the corporation. They suppose that the fact of your never having previously been a member, has been owing to the extent to which in former years you were engaged in great professional

* *Ante*, Chapter V.

concerns, bringing with them high responsibility and requiring a devotion of time and attention which made it your preference not to assume responsibilities of a different kind but for some discharge of which you would have naturally been looked to. The concerns of this Society being at the present day so well organized that nothing of devotion is required of any member beyond what he may himself find it agreeable to give, we trust that the membership to which we have ventured to elect you may not be unwelcome.

I have the honor to transmit you a certificate of membership, and shall be proud to welcome you with any of your family on any morning it may suit your convenience, between the hours of 10 and 2 o'clock, at our New Hall.

I am, Sir, with the highest respect

Your obt Servant

James Shrigley,
Librarian

To the Hon. Horace Binney
Philada.

To this letter Mr. Binney replied:

241 South Fourth St
21st March 1872

James Shrigley Esq
Pro Secretary of the
Historical Soci of Penna

Dear Sir—

The proceedings of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, which your note of the 19th communicates to me, with a diploma to an unmerited honour; and I accept the position that is given to me in the Historical Society as both an honour and a compliment.

If the absence of my name from the roll of those who instituted the Society, or were early

*Mr.
Binney's
Acceptance*

members, needs explanation, none can be more true and sufficient, than what your note suggests.

A lawyer of this city, who at that time, and for long years afterwards, gave all his days to the courts, and his evenings and nights to preparation for them, had no alternative but to make a sacrifice of his taste or love for the liberal arts or letters, which institutions were then springing up to promote to the jealous and absorbing duties of his profession.

I will endeavour to visit the new Hall of the Society, to which you invite me, as soon as my health and the weather will permit.

Very Respectfully
Horace Binney

*Inaugural
Address of
Mr.
Wallace*

The inaugural address of Mr. Wallace was filled with enthusiasm, and rich in material of permanent value. He welcomed his fellow members to the new Hall:

Because in the article of comfort, convenience and elegance, it far exceeds any place of meeting which we have hitherto enjoyed. Firm in its structure; central in its situation; commodious in the distribution of its numerous apartments; looking out along the whole line . . . upon the fair face of nature, and bringing from the warmth and breezes of the south, those influences which most contribute to health and cheerfulness; well ventilated; well warmed; with repositories of unusual security and size for our more precious possessions, I can indeed think of no spot whatever, in all the length and breadth of Philadelphia, which, if we had had our choice, we would more willingly have selected for the seat of our corporate presence and councils, and as the place where most advantageously to collect and most attractively to show forth our historic treasures.

Addressing George Washington Smith, and Dr. Benjamin H. Coates, for whom seats of distinction had been provided, he exclaimed

To you, gentlemen, honored founders of our Society, the spectacle which you behold this night must be a delightful one indeed!

He accounted for the comparative lateness of the origin of the Society, and stated the circumstances of its birth as already quoted in a preceding chapter.* He then traced in outline the history of the forty-eight years which it has been the endeavor of the present writer to present in ampler detail. He concisely summed up the results as follows:

In all this term, of near fifty years—from the foundation of our Society till this day—we have had no assistance from the state, whose honor in the past we seek to preserve in perpetual lustre; nor any from the city, equally interested with the state in supporting our endeavors. To private liberality, rarely in large sums, but constant and from many sources, and always unostentatiously rendered, we are indebted for all that we have about us. We have 600 members; a library of 12,000 volumes; a collection of near 80,000 pamphlets, of which 70,000, the bequest of Mr. Fahnestock, lie carefully stored in boxes till such time as we can bind, arrange, and display them; † a gallery of 65 portraits, and of 12 historical pictures; numerous engravings; and manuscripts—I may say innumerable—including the collections of William Penn and of several of his descendants at Stoke, in England; recently presented to us by some of our liberal members, who had secured them at a price of \$4000. Our building fund amounts to \$12,775; our publication fund to \$17,000; our binding fund to \$3500; our life-membership fund to \$7000.

Mr.
Wallace's
Summary of
Societary
Conditions

* Chapter IV, p. 49.

† *Ante*, pp. 351–53.

He reminded the members that the committee who obtained the room at 211 South Sixth Street, in 1844, had been "directed to procure a book case of size sufficient to hold the collection of books, &c., a carpet, table, chairs, and other necessary furniture, and to put the room in a proper state for being occupied, *provided that the cost did not exceed \$100.*" With justifiable pride, he added:

As I look around at these beautiful and well-filled rooms, and remember that we have laid out \$15,000, and yet get back, we feel, more than the value of every cent expended, I exclaim involuntarily: "Excellent committee, if you accomplished, on these terms, the duties with which you were intrusted!"

Mr. Wallace's Review of the History of Pennsylvania Turning then to a comprehensive glance at the history of Pennsylvania, he rapidly reviewed the early efforts to establish schools, private and public, as well as those of arts and sciences, colleges and universities, dwelling with particular emphasis upon his favorite theme of the priority of Bradford's printing press. He furnished other instances of the primacy of Pennsylvania, extracting from the *Minutes of the Provincial Council* this curious record:

The petition of Robert Turner, John Tissic, Thomas Budd, Robert Ewer, Samuel Carpenter, and John Fuller, was read, setting forth their design of setting up a Bank for Money; and requesting encouragement from the governor and Council for their proceeding therein.

He pointed out that Governor Blackwell in sanctioning their scheme distinguished between *bills* and *money* by warning them that those who usually clipped or coined money would be apt to counterfeit their bills unless care were taken.*

He told how even Deputy Governor Markham, a cousin of William Penn and his representative in Pennsylvania before his arrival, had anticipated the celebrated apothegm of Wash-

* 7th of the 12th Month—1688-9—Governor Blackwell presiding—Pa. Col. Rec., I, 193.

ington, by remarking as the best means of averting an English war with France, which threatened as the result of the abdication of James II and the accession of the House of Orange,

My opinion is that we ought to have our arms as well fixed in time of peace as war. . . . And whether war be come or not, I always keep my own arms prepared.

Mr. Wallace regretted that

It is the misfortune of Pennsylvania that her provincial history has never yet been written. Some who have tried to tell it, have had no sufficient knowledge, and others have wanted that genius and taste which was essential for their office, and without which no knowledge of fact will ever make a historical work attractive. Thus to most who study them, our pre-revolutionary annals are a dreary waste, diversified chiefly by quarrels between our governors and their assemblies and by the feuds of provincial parties; one side of them no better sometimes than a provincial faction. Yet beneath all these there lies, I apprehend, a better history; one which, if written with a comprehensive view and a philosophic spirit—with remembrance that ‘history is a high name and imports productions of a high order’—would be to Pennsylvanians a subject both of instruction and pride.

*The Need
of a
Provincial
History*

The most impressive account, in his judgment, of Philadelphia, was that given in Edmund Burke’s *An Account of the European Settlements in America*, and in his *Speech on Conciliation with America*. Then he touched on the merits of the colonial legislation from the earliest days:

This very legislation, I say, declares to us that superior genius must have presided in some of our Colonial Assemblies. The men who have been able, in the infancy of states, so to legislate

as to govern them in centuries after, when they have become populous and mighty, have been but few; hardly more than have written epic poems, and in genius, perhaps, not much inferior.

*Notable
Features in
Pennsyl-
vania
History*

At the cost of injustice to both orator and reader, nothing more than an abridgment can be attempted of this truly remarkable address. What need was there, he asked, to quote the history and speeches and legislation of a century or more ago? Let the citizen but use his eyes to see what our old city and our old colony was in men and institutions. There stood Christ Church, the Philadelphia Library, the old Academy, now the University of Pennsylvania. There stood the first fire insurance company, and the first life insurance company ever established on this continent. There stood the American Philosophical Society. What other of "the old thirteen" could present such names in the history of physical science as Bartram and Rittenhouse, and Kinnersley and Godfrey and Franklin? What provincial legislature, except our own of 1769, would have given, or did give, when state means were limited, £200 that philosophers might observe the transit of Venus, or, in 1771, reward the constructor of an orrery with a still greater sum? There was Carpenters' Hall, glorified by the eloquence of Patrick Henry, but illustrating in the excellence of its structure the integrity, the discipline, the skill and the success which attended our early mechanic arts.

*Old
Houses*

There were the old houses, still standing, in Front Street, in Second Street, in Third, and in the lower parts of Pine. Look at their imposing "dormers," their elaborate cornices, their stately doorways, their broad fronts, their spacious halls, the rich carvings, the elaborate wainscots, the stairways so easy of ascent. What a history do they give of old Philadelphia? Not until all this has been taken in, can you see the wealthy merchants of whom Burke spoke, who carried on "great trade" with the English, French, Spanish, and Dutch colonies; with the Azores, the Canaries, and the Madeira Islands; with Great Britain and Ireland; with Spain, Portugal and Holland. Then followed this paragraph:

These were their homes, and the homes of their children. They tell that story truly. But they tell a better one as well—a story such as no other provincial city of America ever told so fully. They tell us of families, men and women both, who sought to enjoy life, not to dissipate it; who found pleasure in that which is within, rather than in that which is without; who lived for their own approval, more than for the eyes of others; and who, in providing for their own comfort, provided for the comfort of their servants also.

But why speak of churches, of colleges, of libraries, of halls, of houses? There was the Pennsylvania Hospital, a monument of the wealth, the intelligence, the science, the humanity of the province. Here too was the Rittenhouse mill, the first paper mill in the provinces; here was printed the first monthly magazine; here was Bartram's garden, the wonder of the time, when its owner was acknowledged to be the greatest natural botanist of the world. Here, in 1693, was published the first remonstrance against slavery, and here, in 1780, was enacted the first statute against slavery. Here, all things stood!

*Instances of
Pennsyl-
vania's
Primacy*

Religion, education, science, literature, the arts, domestic dignity and discipline, prudence, charity! The whole conjugation of these excellent things exhibited and coming to us in this day from our old colony with a fulness and perfection which any other city of the provincial times will seek in vain to show, and which is hardly exceeded by like institutions or efforts of the republic anywhere!

And here, was Independence Hall. The whole nation turned its eyes already to this city. The civilized world will do so when the centenary of 1776 comes. When the patriots declared independence, it was time that independence should be here; and independence was achieved.

Independence Hall

But the glory of 1776—the rupture of political bands—the subversion of ancient government—resistance and revolution—is not our only glory. Equal and different fame remains. For here was assembled the Convention of 1787, by which was framed the Constitution of these United States; a convention which numbered some of the greatest geniuses for organizing government that the earth has yet seen. . . . Here, in our city, was reconstructed ‘the fabric of demolished government’; here were reared ‘the well proportioned columns of constitutional liberty’; here was framed together ‘the skilful architecture which unites national government with state rights, individual security and public prosperity’; . . . In this city—in yonder hall—it was all done.

There followed eloquent pleading for the restoration of Independence Hall, for the rescue of Congress Hall and the old City Hall from modern desecration, for the cleansing of ancient shrines.

*An
Eloquent
Appeal*

Men and women of Philadelphia, if we expect that others shall not forget these things, we must see to it that we forget them not ourselves. . . . Is nothing of use at all but what we can weigh or measure or count? Are not sentiments and affections a part of our nature as well as instincts and ambitions? . . . What, then, our Society asks for is, that past and present stand united; that each may have its place, priority, degree.

Thus did Mr. Wallace lay bare the very marrow of our existence. No president, either before or since, ever better expressed the purposes of our foundation than in these words:

Our Society, therefore, in showing to every Philadelphian wherefore and wherein he should value his birthright, teaches him that which it ought to teach. In collecting here, and seeking

to preserve in influence and honor—in collecting and preserving where all can see them, and each derive from the sight a virtuous strength—the names, the deeds, the fame of such men as I have referred to—provincial, revolutionary, republican alike—the Historical Society of Pennsylvania performs a high, and serviceable, and patriotic office to the city, to the state and to the nation.

*Our Society is not founded in the tastes of antiquaries, but in the philosophy of statesmanship.**

*The
Purposes
of the
Society*

The present writer feels justified in italicizing the above sentence. It is more than fifty-four years since he listened to its utterance, and although its exact words had been long forgotten, the recent reading of them has revived a distinct recollection of the tingling effect of Mr. Wallace's address. He was not an orator in the elocutionary sense. He lacked the voice, the manner, and the ability of Henry Armitt Brown to speak without manuscript. But the fervor of his diction, the intense earnestness of his utterance, his compelling sincerity, his varied knowledge, the aptness of his illustrations, the coruscations of his wit, the cogency of his arguments, the rapt sympathy of his audience, the place, the occasion, the approach of the centennial era, and the open display for the first time of our books, documents, portraits and curios—the objects of his adoration and the sources of his inspiration—united to make the inauguration of the new Hall an ever memorable event in the annals of the Society.

*A
Memorable
Address*

* The address appears *in extenso* in *Miscellaneous Publications*, II.

CHAPTER XXVI

Wallace Administration Activities of the Society During the Period of Centennial Celebration of American Independence

*The Oratory of Henry Armitt Brown — Centennial Collections —
The American Library Association*

*Prepara-
tions for the
Celebration
of Cente-
nary of
American
Inde-
pendence*

THERE can be no doubt that the greatly developed strength of the Society and the stirrings of the spirit awakened by the zealous leadership of Mr. Wallace exercised an influence which vitalized efforts made in all directions for the proper celebration of the centenary of American independence. The pages of the minute books, so barren in former years, now teemed with new enterprises and larger outlooks.

It cannot be asserted that the thought of a national celebration, developing into an international exposition, originated in this Society. That honor, it would seem, belongs to the Franklin Institute and the Academy of Fine Arts, who memorialized Congress, in 1869, in favor of holding an international exhibition of the progress made in the arts and sciences to be held in Philadelphia in 1876. The evidence is abundant, however, that for six years prior to the opening of the World's Fair in Philadelphia, the thought of timely preparation for a suitable historic celebration on July 4, 1876, was working in the minds of our Councillors and officers. The evidence is overwhelming that after "those in authority" in city, state, and nation had begun to co-operate, the assistance rendered by the members of this Society and the drafts made on its historic stores of illustrative and educational material were large and unceasing.

As early as January 24, 1870, John Jordan, Jr., "called the attention of Council to the propriety of preparing for publication through a committee on the 4th of July 1876, a Me-

morial volume treating of the occupation of Philadelphia and the operations of the armies during that eventful period of the War of the Revolution." He likewise suggested that "a report be made through a committee on or before the 4th of July 1876 on the circumstances connected with the passage and public reading of the Declaration of Independence in this city in July 1776." These were sagacious and far-seeing suggestions, born of a love of historic truth. The reader will recall that fifty years ago but little was accurately known of the actual events of 1776 even by professed historians, and that a rank crop of fables and false impressions had first to be extirpated.

*Mr.
Jordan's
Suggestions*

The matter was discussed at the stated meeting of the Society in February, 1870, and action deferred. At the next meeting of the Council, James Ross Snowden presented a resolution that the Society take measures for the celebration in this city of the approaching centenary, and presented a communication which he had prepared to be forwarded to both houses of the legislature of Pennsylvania. The Council reported favorably to the Society at the May meeting and this report was sustained. At the same time there was an active newspaper discussion of the feasibility of an industrial exhibition. On March 9, 1870, the Honorable Daniel J. Morrell, a representative from Pennsylvania, introduced a bill in Congress in furtherance of the plan.

*Colonel
Snowden's
Resolution*

Then the project languished. On June 13, 1870, Colonel Snowden moved the appointment of a committee of this Society to co-operate with the civil authorities and with other societies in adopting measures for the proper celebration of the centennial anniversary of American independence. It was resolved that the committee should consist of thirteen members. Colonel Snowden was appointed chairman, with John Jordan, Jr., Edward Armstrong, Edward Pennington, Frederick D. Stone, Charles J. Lukens, John William Wallace, S. B. Wylie Mitchell, Samuel L. Smedley, Horatio Gates Jones, and Richard L. Nicholson as associates.

*Action of
the Council*

In the meantime the Councils of the city of Philadelphia at the instance of John L. Shoemaker—a useful and influential member in his day—memorialized both Harrisburg and

*Action of
City, State
and Nation*

Washington. Congress by act of March 3, 1871, authorized and organized the Centennial Commission, followed in June, 1872, by the incorporation of the centennial board of finance. In June, 1873, Governor Hartranft notified President Grant that Pennsylvania had made provision for the erection of the exhibition buildings. On July 3, 1873, the President issued a world wide proclamation that the exhibition would be held in 1876, and two days later the Secretary of State, Hamilton Fish, sent a notification to all foreign governments.

*Request to
Col.
Snowden to
Prepare a
Paper*

Thus was the "bold emprise" launched. In the meantime, on April 10, 1871, this Society, in guardianship of the historic features of the approaching occasion, requested James Ross Snowden "to prepare for the Centennial Celebration of the Nationality of the United States, a paper upon the precise time place and incidentals of the composition of the Declaration of Independence." Colonel Snowden addressed himself vigorously to the task of collecting his materials, issuing a widely circulated letter calling on all societies, scholars, historians and citizens for such aid as they could render.

*The Res-
toration of
Independ-
ence Hall*

We now have the setting of Mr. Wallace's address in March, 1872, at the opening of the new Hall, and can well understand the receptive mood of his audience. Mr. Wallace had pleaded for the restoration of our historic shrines. In a preceding chapter* it has been told how this Society had borne an honorable part in the return by the state authorities in 1867, to Independence Hall, of the original table on which the Declaration had been signed, and of the John Hancock chair. Much remained to be done to replace the original equipment of the chamber, and to remove inappropriate deposits. That work was accomplished under the direction of one of our own members.

*Col.
Etting's
Labors*

Colonel Frank M. Etting had served us as Recording Secretary from 1855 to 1859, and also, for the year 1859, as a Councillor. Years later, he bequeathed an excellent collection of autographs of the signers to this Society.† He tells us in his *Historical Account of the Old State House of Pennsylvania*, published in March, 1876, that having become possessed of

* *Ante*, Vol. I, Chapter XXIII.

† See *post*, II, Chapter V.

one of the original chairs used in the Hall in 1776, he sought others which had strayed, and determined to replace them. To complete his project of restoration, he sought the aid of Councilman John L. Shoemaker, and soon obtained authority by ordinance of councils to make necessary repairs and alterations, supported by an appropriation. The committee on the restoration of Independence Hall, of which Colonel Etting was chairman, assisted by a board of lady managers—of which our late fellow member, Mrs. Samuel Chew, was most active—removed the offensive red paint from the entire front of the building, the bricks, mortar, marble trimmings and ornaments having been hidden in former years. By the careful use of acids and of fire, they removed from the woodwork of the interior the overlying coats of paint by which “the efflorescence of successive contractors” had concealed the delicate tracery of the panels and of the stairway. They crowned their efforts by restoring to the table the silver ink-stand which had been used by the Signers.*

*Assistance
of Lady
Managers*

In ways too numerous to mention did the officers and members of this Society toil in the preparation for a suitable celebration of the one hundredth anniversary of the birthday of the Republic. Editors of newspapers, contributors to magazines, illustrators, artists, poets, historians, chairmen and committeemen of manufacturers, tradesmen, artisans, railroadmen and merchants, as well as physicians, lawyers, and the clergy sought with avidity the information contained in our stores of books, documents, letters, portraits, prints and curios, so as to qualify themselves to present suitable contrasts between the past and the present, and to prepare instructive reports of progress and striking exhibits of modern achievements. In all directions was the public usefulness of the Society, and its value as an educational institution vindicated.

*The Collec-
tions of
the Society
Freely
Drawn on
by all
Calling for
Information*

One influence, the most potent of them all, remains to be noticed—the voice of the orator. Every epoch in our history has had its superlative speaker. The colonies had Patrick Henry; the constitutionalists had James Wilson; the defenders of the Constitution had Daniel Webster; the anti-slavery cause

* *An Historical Account of the Old State House of Pennsylvania, now known as The Hall of Independence*, by Frank M. Etting, pp. 166–179.

Henry Armitt Brown, the Orator of the Era had Wendell Phillips; civil service reform had George William Curtis; the centennial era, our period of national regeneration, had Henry Armitt Brown.

His genius was exactly suited to the times. He was as fortunate in his opportunities, as the times were fortunate in possessing him. He appeared upon the platform as a fresh and engaging herald of a new spirit in our national life. Professor Hoppin has said: "He was Greek Glaucus among the old heavy armed gladiators." He drew his inspiration from fountains undefiled by fratricidal strife. No trace of bitterness was in his appeals to enraptured audiences to recall the deeds of their sires and perpetuate their memories by emulating their examples. There was no division in his thought between North and South. He recalled the past, but it was a past seen in the receding light of a full century, shedding upon the present a glory that was the common heritage of America.

His matter was scholarly and intellectual, illuminated by patriotism. His voice was of ample range, smooth and musical, and so modulated as to express the finest shades of meaning without becoming inaudible. His lowest notes carried a thrill without a tremolo. His manner, at the outset conversational, ran into conversation "raised to its highest power," in the end sustaining deep, sonorous tones. "He won," as has been said, "by a forceful but steady pressure" until he magnetized his listeners. His preparation was so thorough, and his memory so retentive that he never lost self control or indulged in unpremeditated bursts. His perorations were so skilfully graduated as to carry his hearers to exalted heights without leaving them in mid-air.

His career was too brief to qualify him for extempore efforts. While Professor Hoppin, after the manner of Plutarch in stating resemblances and differences, has compared him with Bright, Sumner, Beaconsfield, Gladstone, Macaulay and even O'Connell, in our judgment he resembled more closely Wendell Phillips and George William Curtis, although his themes were very different from theirs. It should not be forgotten that the reputation of these men rests upon the achieve-

ments of many years, while Brown's brilliant successes were all attained within the brief space of six years. The truth is, as we take it, most students familiar with the masterpieces of oratory will agree, Brown introduced a new style—especially fit for the centennial season—that of descriptive historical narration as a basis for appeals to patriotism. His delineations of the characters and personalities of the Continental Congress, and of the sufferers at Valley Forge enable the reader of today to visualize the men and their surroundings as vividly as the historic pictures of John Trumbull. As Philadelphia's contribution to the literature of centennial days, his orations on the Congress of 1774; the settlement of Burlington; Valley Forge; and Monmouth will stand as unapproachable.* No man hereafter, no matter what his gifts, can retell those stories with similar success.

The Originator of a New School of Oratory

We have not strayed from the history of this Society, because it was in "a windowed niche" of our new Hall, that the material for these addresses was assembled. Day after day, week after week, Mr. Brown searched our archives. The generous and sympathetic Frederick D. Stone, whose boundless stores of exact knowledge were always at the service of others, brought to his desk books, documents, diaries, letters, orderly books, maps, plans and statistical data; the obliging Townsend Ward supplied timely anecdotes; John William Wallace threw light upon the larger aspects of critical situations; Samuel W. Pennypacker, familiar from long residence in the neighborhood of Valley Forge, accompanied the young orator in visits to the redoubts; James H. Castle brought an original and unique map, drawn by an officer of Lafayette's staff, of the retreat from Barren Hill.

His Thoroughness of Preparation

Thus it was that the material accumulated upon our shelves found its way into Brown's orations. Thus equipped, one of the youngest of our members, and by far the most eloquent, went forth to stir up public sentiment in support of the centennial celebration which brought to our city such lasting

* *Memoir of Henry Armitt Brown, together with Four Historical Orations*, edited by J. M. Hoppin, Professor in Yale College, Phila. 1880.

*His Services
to the Cen-
tennial Cele-
bration*

fame, and to the nation such lasting good. Through Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, New Jersey, New York, and Massachusetts he talked to countless thousands, before all kinds of societies—political, philosophical, social and literary—on the story of an hundred years, the Boston Tea Party, the coming centennial, the duty of the hour.

*The
Society's
Centennial
Collection
of Sketches
of Signers
of the
Declaration
of Inde-
pendence*

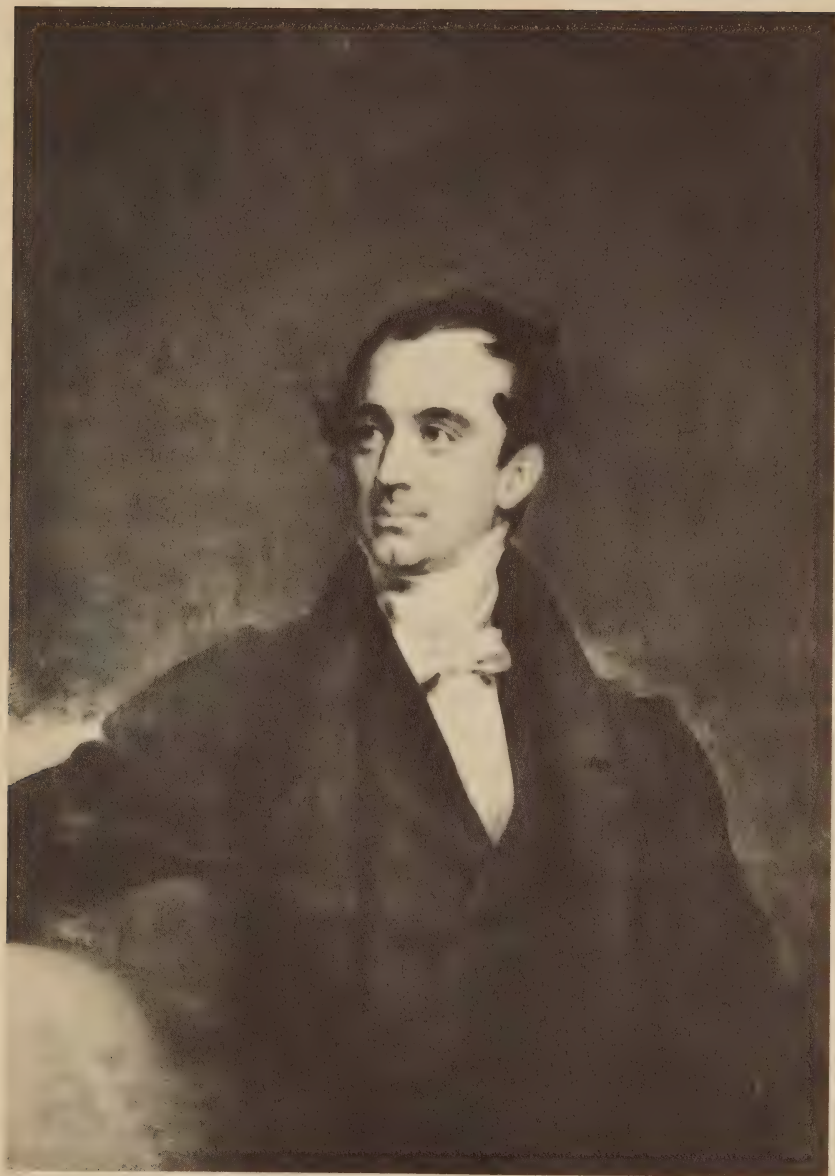
A substantial proof of the further activities of the members of the Society is to be found in the biographical sketches of signers of the Declaration of Independence, entitled "Centennial Collection," running through the first four volumes of *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, the first volume of which appeared in 1877. All these were written or contributed by members of the Society, or at their instance by sympathetic friends here and abroad.

This series of biographies was expanded under the more comprehensive title of "Memoirs prepared for the Centennial Celebration of the Adoption of the 'Resolutions Respecting Independency.'" There were added also numerous sketches of officers in the Continental line, and generals of militia; interspersed by diaries kept during the British occupations of Philadelphia and New York. Dr. Egle contributed biographical sketches of the members of the constitutional convention of 1776. From these materials, as well as from Frederick D. Stone's lively pictures of social and industrial conditions prevailing in Philadelphia one hundred years ago* the reader of today will learn to temper the flamboyant fancies indulged in by writers and speakers of sixty years ago.

*Dr. Hays'
Papers upon
the Declara-
tion of
Inde-
pendence*

There is no trace in our minutes nor in our publications of performance of the task imposed by resolution of the Society on J. Ross Snowden of inquiring into the exact circumstances attending the composition, adoption and publication of the Declaration of Independence. That service to history was performed by one of our members, but for the American Philosophical Society. In papers entitled "A Note on the History of the Jefferson Manuscript Draught of the Declaration of Independence," and "A Contribution to the Bibliography of

* *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, III, 361-394.



Henry D. Gilpin, 1801-1860
Founder of The Gilpin Library

the Declaration of Independence," the late Dr. I. Minis Hays, with masterly historical descriptive analysis, corrected the errors indulged in by hasty writers, and even by eminent historians.*

Sufficient evidence has been presented of the direct and indirect influences brought to bear by the Society, or its members, upon those in charge of the centennial exposition. It would be easy to multiply proofs, but they would be merely cumulative.

A new feature, destined to become of growing importance, was impressed upon the activities of the Society at this time—the extension of hospitable encouragement to affiliated associations. As far back as 1853, a convention of librarians had been held. It was a spasmodic effort and nothing in the way of a permanent organization had been attempted. On October 4, 1876, the librarians of America, availing themselves of the spirit of the centennial year, assembled in the Hall of this Society, and, after a conference lasting three days, founded the present successful and powerful body known as the American Library Association. Mr. Wallace delivered an admirable address of welcome. The *Library Journal* of November 30, 1876, recorded: "The solemn portraits and venerable books of the Historical Society, in that fitting and pleasant room with its cheerful garden vista, looked down upon a body that afforded an interesting study." Justin Winsor, of the Boston Public Library was chosen President. A. R. Spofford, of the Library of Congress; James Yates, of Leeds, England; William F. Poole, of the Chicago Public Library; and Lloyd P. Smith, of the Library Company of Philadelphia were chosen Vice Presidents, and Melvil Dewey, of Amherst College Library; Charles Evans of the Indianapolis Public Library; and Reuben A. Guild, of Brown University, as Secretaries.

Mr. Dewey, who was acclaimed as "the discoverer of the age in regard to library management," declared: "Through all coming time 1876 will be looked upon as the most eventful

*Encourage-
ment Ex-
tended by
the Society
to the
American
Library
Association*

* *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, Vol. XXXVII, No. 157.

year in the history of libraries—the year in which the librarian fairly claimed and received at the hands of the public his place among the recognized professions.” Justin Winsor, in concluding his address, observed: “The day is passed when librarianships should be filled with teachers who have failed in enforcing discipline, or with clergymen whose only merit is that bronchitis was a demerit in their original calling.”

CHAPTER XXVII

Wallace Administration The Acquisition of the Penn Papers

WE turn back a few years in point of time to consider some of the most important acquisitions during the earlier years of Mr. Wallace's administration. The Fahnestock collection of pamphlets has been already noted. Removal to the new Hall, marked by Mr. Wallace's address, led to the publication in 1872 of a *Catalogue of the Paintings and Other Objects of Interest Belonging to the Historical Society of Pennsylvania*.* In the 68 pages of this pamphlet, the close student of our progress will find ample descriptions of each object and of the manner and location of their display. Many of the items have been already alluded to in the preceding pages of the present work, as of the dates of their acquisition. Item 177, entered in the *Catalogue* as "Manuscripts of the Proprietary Family"—is so imperfectly described as to call for extended notice. Not even the best informed of the officers of the Society in 1872 had knowledge of the extent, variety, value and richness of this collection. The story of its acquisition involves two hairbreadth escapes from destruction or dispersion of papers of inestimable value to historians of Pennsylvania, and is well calculated to make all collectors—those possessed of the genius of intelligent acquisition—pause to reflect.

*Acquisitions
of the
Society*

*The Penn
Papers*

John Jordan, Jr., whose eyes, fingers and purse were frequently projected into London, greatly to our advantage, under the vigilant guidance of a faithful correspondent, B. F. Stevens (let his name be gratefully remembered), had received an intimation that a mass of papers relating to the Penn family was likely to reach the general market and become irretrievably dispersed. In reply to his inquiry, he received the following letter:

*Mr.
Jordan's
Initiative
in their
Acquisition*

* *Miscellaneous Publications of the Historical Society*, IV.

*Letter of
B. F.
Stevens
of London*

B. F. Stevens
17 Henrietta Street, Covent Garden
London, 9 July 1870

John Jordan Jun Esq
Philadelphia

Dear Sir,

I have the pleasure to acknowledge receipt of your favour of June 24th.

Immediately on its receipt I set on foot enquiries with regard to the Penn Papers held by Allen and Coleman and now send you the result thus far:

The whole of the papers were originally bought by Coleman for waste paper—as I understand he bought them from Granville Penn's house. After he bought them and without having thoroughly examined them (or as he himself says 'I pulled a paper out of the bundles here and there—that's all') he sold half of them to Allen, who at once printed a short descriptive list of them for circulation among his own customers. The other half he retained for his own cataloguing. I send you by this post Coleman's Catalogue of his half. This catalogue will not be circulated as Allen has bought all the papers described in it and consequently Allen now possesses the whole collection.

On applying to Allen he tells me that he is in negociation with two or three correspondents in Pennsylvania, and as he printed the list for his own customers he declines to give me a copy. Now that he possesses the whole of the MSS. I imagine he will try to sell them altogether. Undoubtedly Pennsylvania should be the depository for these papers and as certainly the His-

torical Society is the most appropriate place in Pennsylvania for them.

I will take care to let you know if any fresh light comes upon the Penn matter. I think Allen will be greatly disappointed if, as you say, the Library Company will not make an offer.

Always at your service, I am, Dear Sir,

Yours faithfully

B. F. Stevens.

Much correspondence followed.* It reveals that after separate catalogues had been printed by Allen and Coleman, and the latter had sold out to the former, Allen hesitated to receive, and Coleman hesitated to deliver because the Penn family, awakening to a realization of the historic value of what one of their circle had treated as "waste paper," sought to reclaim ownership and resorted to a Bill in Chancery for an injunction. In these efforts the family was foiled because of lack of legal status. They then bought of Coleman such of the letters and documents in his catalogue as were of a peculiarly personal family nature. Coleman also retained a few items for himself and sold a few others, but the residuum was large. The Allen collection remained as catalogued. After much difficulty with both Allen and Coleman over prices and deliveries, Mr. Stevens finally effected a purchase of both lots, and shipped them on September 2, 1870, in five boxes to Philadelphia—for the sum of £170 for the Coleman lot, and £300 for the Allen lot. So eager was Mr. Jordan to obtain the prizes that he generously advanced the full amounts without waiting to raise a purchase fund by subscriptions from the members of this Society. At one time it appeared that the Library Company of Philadelphia was in the field as a bidder, but later yielded to the more persuasive right of the Historical Society to become the owner.

*The Allen
& Coleman
Catalogues
of the Penn
Papers*

* The original letters and the catalogues of both Coleman and Allen are preserved in the manuscripts department of the Library of this Society, in a bound volume entitled, Penn Papers—Catalogues and Letters—No. 1; also unbound Catalogue—Penn Papers—No. 2. There is also a copy of the Coleman catalogues presented and annotated by Brinton Cox, Esq.

*The Story
of their
Acquisition
by the
Society*

Despite their harshness as to a few items, the sellers were generous in spirit. Allen wrote Mr. Stevens on April 25, 1871, that the address to the King (William III) for the restoration of the government of Pennsylvania to William Penn, in 1694, signed by about 600 persons in Pennsylvania, could be had for £15, although catalogued at £21. It was promptly secured. Coleman wrote, under the date of May 11, 1871, that the Indian deed between John Moll and the seven Indian chiefs, which was assigned by Moll to Penn, on July 10, 1680, as attested by a personal endorsement in Penn's handwriting signed "W. P.," must be a separate matter. He wrote: "I am very desirous you should have it to send with the others if we can come to terms, but I shall not include it in the nett price of £200.* I value it at £50, but would rather take £25 of you so that it may go to the Philadelphia Library [*sic*] than sell it at any price to the British Museum."

Alas! that Mr. Stevens did not feel authorized to raise the bid of £200 for the entire lot. For this reason this unique deed, and item No. 2—the original Petition of Inhabitants of Pennsylvania addressed to King George I in 1715—together with some twenty or more items of a nature personal to the Penns, were lost to the Society. Perhaps Mr. Stevens had grown suspicious of Coleman after the appearance of the supplementary catalogue, for he wrote to Mr. Jordan: "I am afraid that well will not get dry for some time even if the water has to be procured from other sources." This is all the more probable because one J. C. West of Islington, London, had in the meantime issued a catalogue of a *Valuable Series of Important Deeds and Papers Relating to William Penn and Pennsylvania*. Of this collection Mr. Jordan obtained about twelve items. The remaining items seem to have gone to the Hon. Henry C. Murphy in New York. Adding the totals of the invoices together, it would appear that the purchases of Mr. Jordan for the Society aggregated £553 to £555.

Those curious concerning details can profitably consult the catalogues of all the sellers. Some salient features may, very properly, be dwelt upon in our text. The numbers secured for the Society are starred in the catalogue referred to in black,

* He was alluding to item number 1 of his supplementary catalogue of 154 items.

blue or red pencil, and sometimes a single item (*ut* No. 131 in Allen's catalogue) embraced almost 1,000 pieces. The lots in Allen's catalogue are unpriced, but what price today would or could be put upon Item No. 5, which reads as follows:

Frames of Government. I. Pensilvania Government by Counsellor Bamfield and divers papers thereunto relating. Draft with divers old Models of Law and Government, 1681, 22 leaves. II. The ffundamentall constitution of Pensilvania, no date, 8 leaves, with separate index of Heads. III. Fundamentall Constitution, 4 sheets, no date. IV. The form of Government of Pensilvania, March, 1682, 4 sheets. V. W. P. Charter of Liberty of Pensilvania, 1682, 4 sheets. VI. Constitutions, 2 leaves. VII. Frame of Government of Pensilvania draft, no date, 5 sheets. VIII. The frame of Charter, no date, 10 leaves. IX. The Frame or Form of y^e Government of Pennsylvania, 1 sheet. X. Drafts and Plans, &c., 2 sheets. XI. Drafts, 2 sheets. XII. A Draught of y^e Gov. of P., 8 sheets and eight other papers of the same character (20) 1681-2.

*The
Treasures
Secured*

The titles here given are as endorsed by W. Penn. Nos. 3 and 4, and perhaps others appear to have been entirely written by W. P., most of them are interspersed, some largely, with corrections and additions by W. P., and all bear evidence, more or less, of frequent use. These precious germs of Pennsylvanian liberty must command an interest deepening with the lapse of time—being the original crude working drafts, used by the great prescient founder himself, of the State with which his name will be forever identified.

Both the Coleman catalogues have prices attached to all the items. A few samples will suffice to enable those readers of today who have followed recent sales of autographs and his-

toric documents, to estimate the extent of the service rendered to this Society through the sagacity of Mr. Jordan.

Prices at
Which
Some Were
Secured

The Original Petition of the Inhabitants of Pennsylvania to the *King*, praying that the *Proprietary Charter for Government* may be continued by him . . . with near 2,000 original signatures, date supposed about 1710 . . .

40s.

A Long, Loving Affectionate Letter from the Great William Penn to his Dearest Friend . . . [Hannah Callowhill] dated Lond. 2nd 11 mo. 1695

30s.

A long letter from King William, the Third of England to . . . William Penn, *with fine Royal autograph and Royal seal*

£3, 3s.

Resumption by the Crown, William and Mary, Restoration to Mr. Penn, 20 August, Sixth of WILLIAM and MARY, three pages folio

3s. 6d.

The Original Petition to the King, Charles II., by the . . . Inhabitants of Kent, on Dallaware Bay, in the Territories of Pennsylvania, . . . they preferring to live under the Government of WILLIAM PENN rather than under that of LORD BALTIMORE . . . *signed* by 42 of . . . [those] who . . . settled there under the DUKE OF YORK and ALBANY

65s.

Petition of Arthur Cooke, John Simcocke, Griffith Owen, Caleb Pusey and others, 3 pages folio, dated 1691, desiring William Penn to come over to them with all speed to put matters in the Province on a right footing

60s.

The Original Brief used by Sergeant Springett, in a Cause of Ford against Penn, in the Guild Hall, of the City of London (full of curious facts relating to the early history of Pennsylvania) with fine signatures of Isaac Norris and Phillip Ford—large folio—clean

10s. 6d.

The West catalogue priced at 21s. an "Indenture dated Jan., 1681, between William Penn of Worminghurst, Sussex,

Esq., and Francis Dove of Westminster, being Grant of 500 acres of land in Pennsylvania, with the fine Signature and Armorial Seal of William Penn." The deed was witnessed by "Harbt. Springett and Thomas Coxe." An indenture dated February 28, 1761, between John Taylor of Matiniconk, in the township of Ridley, and Mary, his wife, and Joseph Galloway of Philadelphia, "relating to Marshland on the Island of Tenecum," witnessed by John Morton and William Coleman, a Justice of the supreme court of Pennsylvania, was priced at 5s.*

A close examination of the four catalogues will show that out of a total of 938 items or lots, 19 lots were purchased by the Honorable Henry C. Murphy of New York, 55 lots were sold by Coleman to the Penn family, 2 were retained by Coleman, and the remainder were acquired by this Society.

It was at a meeting of the Council on August 23, 1870, that Mr. Jordan first announced that he had secured the Penn papers for £470. This referred, of course, to the Allen catalogue and the first Coleman catalogue. It was resolved that in view of the great value of the papers, the members of the Society would take active measures to raise the amount by subscription. It was not until the following February that the full sum was secured. On March 10, 1873, at a meeting of the Society, the Hall being then filled to its utmost capacity, Isaac Norris, Esq., on behalf of the contributors, presented the papers to the Society.†

*Mr.
Jordan
Announces
the Fact of
Purchase*

* As an illustration of the amazing rise in value of Penn papers, the original letter of William Penn to the Earl of Sunderland, dated July 28, 1683, referred to in Chapter IX of this history, the contents of which were printed in Vol. II of the *Memoirs* of the Society, was sold at Freeman's in March, 1928, to Louis J. Kolb, for \$11,000.

† The names of the contributors are recorded upon the Minutes as follows: "Isaac Norris, Alfred Cope, John William Wallace, J. Gillingham Fell, John Jordan, Jr., Henry C. Gibson, Thomas A. Scott, Matthew Baird, William Sellers & Co., Clement Biddle, George W. Norris, M.D., Henry C. Lea, Charles E. Smith, Franklin B. Gowen, J. Dickinson Logan, M.D., J. B. Lipincott & Co., Isaac Norris, John Jay Smith, E. W. Clarke & Co., Eli K. Price, John A. Brown, Lawrence S. Pepper, M.D., Isaac Lea, George W. Childs, William M. Baird, John Farnum, John T. Lewis, John J. Thompson, Thomas Sparks, Charles Yarnall, Aubrey H. Smith, Evan Randolph, Charles H. Hutchinson, Ferdinand J. Dreer, Edward C. Knight, William Struthers, Charles J. Peterson, George B. Wood, M.D., J. Francis Fisher, John S. New-

Craig Biddle, Esq., later to become an honored member of the bench of Philadelphia, and a vice-president of this Society, delivered an address.* After remarking upon the modesty of the donors, and the value to history of the gift, he declared:

The collection of papers is so vast that it is impossible at present to estimate its full value.

There are at least twenty thousand separate documents, of which those in manuscript will fill one hundred fair-sized volumes. There are original letters from all the Penns—William, the Founder, Hannah, Thomas, John, Richard, Springett, and William Penn, Jr. Their correspondents are the Governors of Pennsylvania, for the time being, and most of the men of any note in the Province, or who history tells us had any relation elsewhere with the Penn family. . . .

The papers relative to the boundaries of Pennsylvania in dispute with Lord Baltimore are very voluminous. As this dispute required a most elaborate investigation of the then existing charters for lands in this country, the papers connected with it are generally official copies of documents, of equal value as to accuracy of detail and statement with the originals. . . .

The papers relating to the Indians are also very numerous, including a great deal of information regarding the celebrated 'Indian Walk.' These papers have been sufficiently examined to show that the extent of the walk has

bold, S. K. Ashton, M.D., Frederick D. Stone, John A. McAllister, Benjamin H. Coates, M.D., William J. Horstmann, Archibald Campbell, William T. Carter, Furman Sheppard, J. Dickinson Sergeant, E. Spencer Miller, Henry C. Townsend, James L. Claghorn, John O. James, David S. Brown, Samuel Chew, George W. Biddle, Charles M. Morris, William P. Cresson, John Clayton, Samuel L. Smedley, John McAllister, Jr., Lewis A. Scott, Henry H. Bingham, Morton McMichael, Edmund Smith, Charles J. Lukens, Townsend Ward, Israel Pemberton, Admiral J. L. Lardner, U. S. N."

* Proceedings of The Historical Society of Pennsylvania on the Presentation of the Penn Papers and Address of Craig Biddle, March 10, 1873. *Miscellaneous Publications of the Historical Society*, III,

been grossly exaggerated, being not much longer than many men in our degenerate days are capable of taking, and the extent of land acquired very much less than is generally believed. . . .

In matters of curiosity, there are no end of treasures, which will gratify the admirers of autographs and the enthusiastic antiquarians. We have receipts here acknowledging the annual payment of rent for the province of Pennsylvania; for under the feudal system Penn could only be a tenant, and he seems to have paid his 'two beaver skins to the king, at his palace of Windsor,' with all the regularity of a tenant of our day, who has agreed to forego the benefit of the exemption laws. Then there are petitions to the king bearing the names of all the principal people in the province; among others a petition praying for the restoration of Penn, when, for a time, the government had been taken from him—a document, by the way, of historical interest, not known ever to have been printed, and the existence of which was doubted. Also, a list of the original purchasers, giving their English residences—a want long felt in tracing their ancestry.

Then we have all the cash books, journals, letter books, receipt books and commonplace books of Penn himself.

The remainder of Mr. Biddle's address was an admirable analysis of the character of William Penn, and a tribute to his worth. There is also a caustic review of the bitterness of Cotton Mather against the Quakers followed by an interesting summary of the Puritan laws against the sect.

Those who recall the wit in conversation of Judge Biddle, will relish the following specimens of his humor in print, of which specimens are rare:

*Wit of
Judge
Biddle*

The female Quaker was allowed to keep her ears, but was whipped; but both sexes had their tongues bored. I do not understand this distinction, unless in those days the women were more apt to talk than to listen; and a whipping was a severer punishment than loss of ears. It would not, of course, be so now. . . .

Shaving a man's head and bleeding him do not seem, at the present day, very great steps in the principle of toleration, but it was the mildest restriction upon liberty of worship that a clergyman of the Independents thought it judicious at that day to suggest. Shaving the head of a man who never took off his hat, had, to be sure, some elements of merciful consideration in it; but blood-letting would have been as disagreeable to a Quaker as to any other denomination of Christians.

The reader will pardon the digression. We now return to the Penn papers.

*Recent
Large
Additions
to the Penn
Papers*

The papers as received in 1870 have been largely added to in later years. In December, 1872, there was added Penn's instructions to his commissioners in 1681 for settling the colony. From time to time particularly large or important accessions of Penn papers will be noted,* but to avoid repetition we present a few details so as to enable the reader to obtain a general conception of the mass. Speaking generally, the mounting and repair work was entrusted to the experts, Mr. Pawson and Miss Wylie, whose recent deaths, after long years of faithful service to this Society, occasioned a deep sense of loss as well as sorrow. The earlier classifications were made by William J. Buck, the well known historian of Montgomery County, the later ones by Mr. Albert J. Edmunds and Miss Wylie. The bindings of the mounted sheets are of the heaviest morocco leather, in imperial folio size, with backs from six to nine inches broad. As hundreds of volumes present themselves in

* See *post*, Vol. II, Chapter XIV. For Penn relics see *ante*, Vol. I, Chapters XI and XVII, and for pictures of the Penns, *post*, Vol. II, Chapter XIII.

seried ranks, shelf after shelf, and tier upon tier, these noble books resolved into thousands upon thousands of individual units, are massed like well drilled and handsomely uniformed regiments, impressing the beholder with a sense of their dignity, value and weight.

In the address of President Samuel W. Pennypacker, delivered during the formal opening of the present fireproof building, April 6, 1910, in giving a résumé of the manuscripts by reference to the name of the family or personage who once owned them, he declared the number of volumes under the name of *Penn* to be 444. The present writer is satisfied that this computation must have included the contents of many boxes potentially sufficient to make a volume for each box, but not then bound. It must also have included thin and "flying squadrons" of smaller books. It is sufficient for our present purpose to have noted 279 imperial folio volumes, and masses of parchments in bundles, constituting the title deeds of the province of Pennsylvania.

*President
Pennypacker's
Résumé*

Beginning with Admiral Sir William Penn's book of instructions for the fleet and letters of the admiral, each in separate folios, the mind is recalled to the "movent clause" in the charter of Charles II, dated March 4, 1681, as follows:

*The
Writer's
Résumé*

I. Know ye, therefore, that We, (favoring the petition and good purpose of the said William Penn, and having regard to the memory and merits of his late father in divers services, and particularly to his conduct, courage, and discretion under our dearest brother James, Duke of York, in that signal battle and victory fought and obtained against the Dutch fleet, commanded by the Heer Van Opdam, in the year 1665; in consideration, of our special grace, certain knowledge and mere motion) have given and granted, and by this Our present charter, for Us Our Heirs and Successors, do give and grant, unto the said William Penn, his heirs and assigns all that tract or part of land in America, with the islands therein contained Bounded &c. &c. &c.

*Admiral
Penn's
Book of
Instructions*

*Extract
from the
Charter of
Charles II*

Following with the frames of government, constituting item 5 in the Allen catalogue,* we can trace the workings of Penn's mind, during the formative stages of his preface to "The Frame or Form of ye Government of Pennsylvania," as well as in drafting his plans of political architecture.

*Penn's
Letter
Books*

Through William Penn's letter books, both public and domestic, with all classes of correspondents, we can follow the activities of a great business man as well as a statesman, a philosopher, and a philanthropist. Through his cash books and journals and ledgers, and those of his wife Hannah, items can be found of interest to the student of social life, and of the affairs of the household of the Founder. Through deeds and warrants and surveys, maps, notes, and accounts can be traced the character and extent of the earliest efforts at state planning.

*Cash Books
and
Journals*

*Deeds and
Warrants*

*Indian
Affairs*

Through volume after volume of Indian affairs can be found the justification of Penn's dealings with the Indians, and much to moderate the harsh judgments pronounced upon the conduct of his successors. Through acts of assembly, petitions, protests, remonstrances, replies, and admonitions, there is material enough to engage a score of writers in treating with intimacy the successive phases of conflict and discussion with governors, secretaries, attorneys, counsellors, first purchasers or their descendants, rival claimants of territory, stiff necked legislators, crown officers, and later with the Crown itself, and later still with a Commonwealth, disenthralled from proprietary ownership through the Divesting Act of November 27, 1779.

*Disputes
between
Governors
and the
Assembly*

We look with expectation to Albert Cook Myers, who has expended years of patient toil upon the minute examination of the Penn Papers, and to the unearthing of others not yet in the possession of the Society, for further revelations of the richness, and variety of the whole.

*Documents
in the
Case of
Penn v.
Baltimore*

For the future historian of the Mason and Dixon line, there is ample material for fresh and exhaustive treatment. For the lawyer, if leisure could be commanded, there is five years' work ahead in following the mazes of the case of *Penn v. Baltimore*. There are 18 folios of agreements, commissions, surveys, maps, note books, bills in Chancery, depositions of

* *Ante*, p. 387.

witnesses, exhibits, briefs of counsel, breviates, decrees, interlocutory and supplemental, finally culminating in the decree of Lord Chancellor Hardwicke against Lord Baltimore for specific performance. That decree, standing alone, consists of 38 skins of parchment, each skin measuring twenty-two inches by twenty-eight, and embodying all the points in dispute and concessions granted, stated in 2,000 lines of writing signed by the chancellor, May 15, 1750.

*Lord Hard-
wicke's
Decree*

Philip Yorke, Earl of Hardwicke, who for 17 years, 1737-1754, held the Great Seal during the long reign of George II has been generally regarded by the profession as the greatest luminary of the Chancery bench, with the sole possible exception of Lord Eldon. He opened his opinion with these impressive words:

I directed this cause to stand over for judgment, not so much from any doubt of what was the justice of the case, as by reason of the nature of it, the great consequence and importance, and the great labor and ability of the argument on both sides, it being for the determination of the right and boundaries of two great provincial governments and three counties; of a nature worthy of the judicature of a Roman Senate, rather than of a single Judge; and my consolation is, that, if I should err in my judgment, there is a judicature, equal in dignity to a Roman Senate, that will correct it.

*Lord
Hardwicke's
Opinion*

There was no appeal by Baltimore to the House of Lords. The august decree was accepted as conclusive.

Jurists generally, both in England and America, are content with the report of this famous controversy as given in 1 Vesey's *Reports*, 444, and reprinted in White and Tudor's *Leading Cases in Equity*, Volume II, page 1047. It fixed for all time the now familiar equitable doctrine that as equity acts primarily *in personam*, and not merely *in rem*, Chancery can make a decree against an individual within the jurisdiction of the court, even though the *situs* of the subject matter in dispute is outside of the jurisdiction. But the Pennsylvanian,

*The Effect
of the
Decree*

be he lawyer or laymen, as he turns the still crackling skins of the decree, will realize how much of potential history lay coiled within its folds. Had the decree been otherwise, how different would have been the outcome. Had Baltimore won, Philadelphia would have been a city of Maryland, and the birthplace of the Declaration of Independence and of the Constitution of the United States would have been lost to Pennsylvania.

*Dispute
over Bound-
aries
Between
Maryland
and Penn-
sylvania*

Nor can the lawyer escape a further thrill, when he handles the manuscript notes of William Murray, best known to fame as the greatest of the Lord Chief Justices of England—Lord Mansfield—who, as counsel for the Penns, wrung victory from the occult phrase—*hactenus inculta*—in the charter of Lord Baltimore. That charter, which was fifty years older than that of Penn, gave to Baltimore territory north to the 40th degree of latitude—*hactenus inculta*—thus excepting inferentially lands planted or in possession of any Christian people. Murray urged, as had been done before the Privy Council in 1685, that those words applied to the three lower counties on the Delaware River settled by the Dutch, and now constituting the state of Delaware. This territory had been granted to the Duke of York, by Charles II in 1674, and was subsequently deeded to William Penn by the Duke by deed, dated August 21, 1682. The Dutch settlements near Lewes, planted by DeVries in 1631, had been destroyed by the Indians in the blood-stained Valley of the Swans, and when visited, in 1633, by DeVries, he saw only desolation about him. But, as Murray argued, there was no evidence of voluntary abandonment on the part of the Dutch, who, through Fort Nassau on the opposite shore, higher up and through the building of Fort Bevesrede on the Schuylkill, in 1633, still commanded the river, and as the DeVries settlement had ante-dated the charter to Baltimore by more than a year, the mystic words of exclusion were still potent. This point, a highly important one, had been decided by the Privy Council in Penn's favor in 1685, but all sorts of delays were thrown in the way of the execution of the order of Council, and it was not until Lord Chancellor Hardwicke had spoken, that the question was finally set at rest.

The other point in contention between Penn and Baltimore was the boundary line between Pennsylvania and Maryland. The question was as to the construction of the expression, forty degrees of latitude. The Maryland grant was "to the fortieth degree of latitude," which Lord Baltimore alleged was to "forty degrees compleat." The Pennsylvania grant was "to begin at the beginning of the fortieth degree," which the Penns contended was just after the thirty-ninth degree was completed. The contest was, therefore, for a degree of latitude, or sixty-nine English miles. The disputes were made the subject of various agreements between the parties by way of compromise, and it was the enforcement of these agreements that made the subject matter of the Hardwicke degree. The exact line was fixed subsequently by Mason and Dixon.

*The Mason
and Dixon
Line*

Such are some of the thoughts that will occur to the mind of the visitor to the room containing the Penn papers, accompanied by the reflection that the stream of actual history is sometimes turned in its course by events of apparently small consequence at the time of their occurrence, but big with the fate of empires in later days. One further remark may be made, by way of caution. It must not be inferred by the reader that Murray's argument was the turning point in the determination of the suit. There were many other elements which affected the Chancellor's mind. It is not the province of the present writer to review or to settle the merits of bitter contentions. It is his purpose solely to point out and to emphasize the value to historical studies of the accumulated material in the possession of this Society. It may be said in passing that one of the fullest and most impartial presentations of these vexed matters is to be found in the first three chapters of *Chronicles of Pennsylvania, 1688-1748*, by Charles Penrose Keith, an honored member of the present Council of this Society.* Nor should the reader overlook the masterly review of the contrasted conduct of the Penns with that of the Lords Baltimore throughout the long drawn stages of the contro-

*Charles
Penrose
Keith's
Account of
the Contro-
versy*

* The reader should also examine the "Catalogue of Papers relating to Pennsylvania and Delaware deposited at State Paper Office, London," *Memoirs of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania*, IV, Part II, see *ante*, Chapter XVI.

versy, by Walter B. Scaife, under the title of "Boundary Dispute between Maryland and Pennsylvania," in which he reaches the conclusion that the decree of Lord Hardwicke "was eminently just and impartial." * Nor will the reader overlook the paper of James Dunlop in 1826, who was the first of our writers to discuss the subject, † and the later paper of John H. B. Latrobe of Baltimore, in 1854, delivered as an address before the Society, and separately published as a pamphlet.

* *Pa. Mag. of Hist. & Biog.*, IX, 241-271.

† *Memoirs of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania*, I.

CHAPTER XXVIII

Wallace Administration

The Gilpin Library Trust — Sketch of Mr. Gilpin

THE reader will recall that in Chapter XIX of this volume it was stated that Henry D. Gilpin had died in the early part of January, 1860, leaving a will, dated January 17 of that year, and that his munificent bequest to the Society of a third of his residuary estate had failed because of the Act of April 26, 1855, invalidating charitable bequests made within a calendar month of the death of a testator. The bequest was subject to the life estates of his mother and widow, but the law working an intestacy as to the bequest, vested ownership of the principal in the heirs and next of kin of Mr. Gilpin. It was further stated that on the deaths of the mother and widow, an agreement of settlement was effected with the heirs, by which the Society became the recipient of a fund which constituted the basis of what has since become known as the Gilpin Library Trust. A sketch of Mr. Gilpin was withheld until the agreement went into effect. It is now in place to resume our narrative in this connection.*

*The Henry
D. Gilpin
Bequest*

The widow, surviving the mother, died on February 12, 1874, leaving a will which, in its endeavor to adjust matters, complicated the situation. Thereupon, on December 7, 1874, an agreement was made between the heirs and next of kin of Mr. Gilpin and the survivors of the persons whom he had intended in his will to be the trustees of the portion of his residuary estate given to the Society, in order to adjust and settle the questions and controversies which had arisen under the two wills. This was followed by a petition to the Orphans' Court of Philadelphia County. The matter was referred to an auditor, who filed his report on May 8, 1875, which was duly confirmed. By this report the sum of \$29,552.22 was awarded to John William Wallace and others as trustees for the Gilpin Library of The Historical Society of Pennsylvania. This sum,

*Agreement
Reached
Between the
Heirs and
this Society*

* *Ante*, Chapter XIX, p. 227.

with the further sum of about \$30,000 thereafter received by Mr. Wallace, Mr. Jordan, and Richard A. Gilpin as trustees for the Society, formed the corpus of the trust estate confided to their care for the purposes set forth in the will of Mr. Gilpin. The total amount of \$59,552.22 was much less than would have been received had Mr. Gilpin's will been efficacious, the agreement of compromise having been based on equality of distribution between the heirs and the Society. The sum received, however, was, in those days of financial stress, of signal importance to the Society.

Embarrassments Disposed of

Embarrassments arose as to the terms of the trust. The library of Mr. Gilpin was largely classical, rather than historical. It consisted of about 17,000 volumes, remaining undisposed of in the hands of the surviving executor, and one-sixth of the same, in specie or in value, would, under the agreement, come to the Society. Mr. Gilpin had not made provision for preservation, use, or accretion, during the time prescribed for the accumulation of the income of the trust estate, nor during the period necessary for the erection of the fireproof edifice required to be built with the results of such accumulation.

As to a Fireproof Building

The Society had, as the reader is aware, leased the Picture Building from the Pennsylvania Hospital at a nominal rental on an improvement lease. The improvements had been made, and were ample for the accommodation of the Gilpin books, but the building was not fireproof. Nor did the Society contemplate, nor did it have the ability to erect a fireproof building. Moreover, five years of the improvement lease had already expired. It was wholly uncertain whether or not the Society, even if it should at some future time erect such an edifice, would then consent to the connection therewith of a separate fireproof building for the use of the Gilpin library on terms satisfactory to the trustees thereof for the time being. Besides, the Society and the Gilpin trustees might not co-operate in the making of rules and regulations for the establishment and conduct of separate libraries. Furthermore, because of the failure of the provisions made by the testator for the charity to the extent of one-half of the capital value thereof, the construction of a fireproof edifice for the Gilpin library, from accumulations of the income of the trust funds, in con-

nection with one to be erected by the Society, would be postponed, under any circumstances, for a very much longer time than the term of ten years contemplated by the testator.

These difficulties made it apparent that the particular modes pointed out by the will of the testator for the execution of the trusts, were impracticable, uncertain and inadequate. The advice and direction of a court of chancery were plainly needed. These were obtained through a petition reciting the facts, presented by Mr. Wallace and his co-trustees to court of common pleas No. 1 of Philadelphia County. A decree was made, dated October 28, 1876, by President Judge Joseph Allison, as chancellor, after reference to a master and the taking of evidence, by which it was ordered, adjudged and decreed:

First. That the Trustees of the Gilpin Library are hereby authorized to enter into an agreement with the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, for leasing such part of the present or any future building occupied by the said Society, as they may deem expedient for the use of the Gilpin Library of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, on such terms as may be mutually agreed on.

*Decree of
Judge
Allison*

Secondly. That the Trustees of the Gilpin Library have leave to apply so much of the income of the trust estate as may be necessary to the payment thereof, and

Thirdly. To appropriate the remainder of the said income to the use of the said Gilpin Library according to the directions of the will of the said decedent, which are subsequent to those relating to the accumulation of the fund and the erection of a fire-proof library building with the proceeds thereof, including the proper fitting up and care of the library room, the purchasing of books, the binding of the same when necessary to be done, and the employment of a proper person as Librarian, at a salary to be fixed upon by the Trustees, and

Fourthly. That they shall have leave to apply to the Court for any further directions in case they should desire the same.

Joseph Allison.*

*Further
Difficulties*

The difficulty, however, was not fully solved. It was hard to fit actual administration to the terms of the trust. There was an inherent contradiction between a trust non-existent in point of law, but active in its appeal to the consciences of the beneficiaries. The books needed by the Society were bought at the executor's sale of the Gilpin library on February 11, 1878, and placed in the fireproof vaults of the Picture Building. Accessions, at the expense of the income, were had from time to time. A charge was made against the income for the use of the vaults, and a portion of the salary of the librarian was also so charged. On the removal of the Society in 1884 to the Patterson mansion, at the southwest corner of Thirteenth and Locust Streets, the Gilpin books were placed in the fireproof addition, erected through the munificence of John Jordan, Jr., for protection, but still the doubt remained as to whether this was a compliance with the will. The income was partly accumulated, and added to the capital, and partly spent in the purchase of rare Americana properly accredited to the memory of Mr. Gilpin by the insertion of individual bookplates. The minds of the Councillors were teased by doubts. Was there an obligation to account to the court annually, and publish a full report of the state of the trust? Such had been the directions contained in the will. On the other hand, was there a trust under the will, the will having failed in effect under the law?

*Perplexities
of the
Council*

The debate continued at the Council table for years. No formal accounting in court was ever made, although the accounts of income, expenditure, and investments were scrupulously kept by those designated to act as Trustees of the Gilpin fund. Finally, at a meeting of the Trustees on December 17, 1897, it was resolved to submit the matter to John Samuel, Esq., an eminent and experienced member of the bar, with a request for an opinion.

* This decree and the proceedings on which it is based are of record in Court of Common Pleas No. 1, of March Term, 1876, No. 863.

Mr. Samuel cut the Gordian knot very neatly. In an opinion, dated January 17, 1898, the original of which is in the possession of the trustees, he pointed out that as the law had prevented the operation of the will, no title to any of the estate which had been of Henry D. Gilpin vested in the Society under and by virtue of the will. The fiction of an existing trust under the will must be abandoned. Hence, so far as concerned any property which was of his estate, and then held by the Society, the Society was "entirely free from any obligation duty or trust which *he by his will* endeavored to impose upon it." The agreement of December 7, 1874, with the heirs and next of kin, was in effect a gift to the Society by those heirs who were complete owners of the title to the estate by virtue of the inefficacy of the will. The title of the heirs was unhampered and they were free to give to the Society, under the compromise agreement, the portion allotted to the Society "free from any limitation, trusts, or conditions whatever." It was only because of decorous respect for the memory of Mr. Gilpin that the idea had prevailed so long that the property should be held under the trusts expressed in the will.

*Legal
Opinion of
John
Samuel,
Esq.*

As the heirs were free to do as they pleased with their own property they could abrogate entirely or modify as they pleased the trusts or conditions on which the property was to be held. Moreover, it had been overlooked that in connection with the agreement of December 7, 1874, the heirs had written and signed the following letter:

Philadelphia, Dec. 24th, 1874.

To the Trustees under the will of Henry D. Gilpin, deceased, of The Historical Society of Pennsylvania; of The Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts; and of The Historical Society of Chicago:

*A Letter
from the
Heirs*

Gentlemen:

Our conflicting claims to the Estate of the late Henry D. Gilpin having been adjusted by a compromise satisfactory to both parties, we will be happy in any way, to lend our aid to induce the Courts or the Legislature, to modify

your Trusts, which seem to us very difficult of execution, and perhaps impracticable, to such an extent as the reduced sums at your disposal may make necessary. If the compromise on the decree of the Court thereon should be held to make the trust received by you a contribution from us, we hereby express our entire concurrence in any modification of the Trusts that the Legislature or Courts may deem advisable, or if our concurrence in such modification for any cause may be considered desirable, we hereby express our entire acquiescence in the same.

Mr. Samuel also pointed out that the omission to file annual accounts, or to invest solely in stock of the city of Philadelphia as directed by the will, could not be regarded as breaches of trust. There was no perversion of the fund. All of the estate had been used for the main purpose. Nor was such omission a matter to which the heirs could object. They were estopped by their own letter, and one of their number, by acting as one of the trustees for the Society, had full knowledge of the omission. For thirteen years he had acquiesced in such omission. Mr. Samuel concluded:

*Mr.
Samuel's
Conclusion*

I am therefore of opinion that the present trustees run no risk either to themselves or the estate they manage in continuing the practice of twenty-three years and that they need not invest in the stock of the City of Philadelphia, or file annual accounts in the Court of Common Pleas.

This opinion cleared the air. The trust was a phantom conjured up by the over-sensitive, but highly honorable scruples of the officers of the Society. The cold steel of a strictly legal view slew the bogey. Neither the legislature nor the courts could interfere. Both were incompetent to write wills or create trusts, which in law and under the facts did not exist.

Nevertheless, in practice unto this day, the funds of the Gilpin Library (still so called for convenience) have been kept separate from the general funds of the Society, and have never been mingled with those of other trusts. They are under

the administration of six trustees of the Gilpin Library, of whom the president and senior vice-president of the Historical Society are ex-officio members. They keep separate books of account, hold meetings of their own, keep their own minutes, employ their own secretary, pay rent to the Society, contribute to the salary of the librarian and other employees concerned in the care of the Gilpin books, make their own purchases, invest their surplus funds, and nurse their capital. The capital at present amounts to about \$71,000, an increase of \$12,000 in the principal fund, over that received in Mr. Wallace's day.

*The Present
So-called
Gilpin
Trust*

The *Gilpin Library*, constituting at this time an important and most valuable part of the possessions of this Society, is, under this general designation, familiar to the officers and members. It must not, however, be regarded, excepting a very few items, as being a collection once owned by Mr. Gilpin. The testator, it is true, had bequeathed all his books to the Society, but that bequest, as has been seen, had failed. Hence the executors on February 11, 1878, through Thomas Birch and Sons, sold publicly the entire collection of 17,000 books. A few items of significance to the history of Pennsylvania were bought by the Society. The remainder went into other hands. An examination of the catalogue of sale will satisfy anyone that what might, at first blush, seem to have been a misfortune, was in reality a blessing in disguise. The Gilpin library, as represented by the catalogue, was, generally speaking, a classical, legal and miscellaneous collection, unusual in its variety and extent, but with no direct bearing on Americana or Pennsylvaniana. Edward Everett, who was familiar with it, described it as "a library not of bibliographical rarities, but of books for use." Its acquisition would have greatly embarrassed the endeavors of the Society, and deprived it of needed space upon its shelves for items strictly pertinent to its purposes.

*The Gilpin
Library*

At a meeting of the trustees of the Gilpin Library, held November 8, 1876, "considerable conversation" occurred as to the "class or classes of works to be put in the Gilpin Library." The Accession Book of this Society (Number 4) contains a number of Gilpin entries, the first being dated May 7,

*Of what
it Consists*

1877, and the last, January 10, 1881. From that time forward there is a separate book for accessions to the Gilpin Library, beginning February 16, 1881. These accession catalogues undoubtedly represent purchases by the trustees, as well as gifts, specifically for the Gilpin Library, but there is no reason to assume that they include any book, manuscript or other article which came to the Society directly from the estate of Henry D. Gilpin. Many volumes purchased by the Gilpin fund, and containing Gilpin bookplates are arranged on the shelves of the Society according to the usual classification, and there are many manuscripts, acquired in the same way, in addition to the books and pamphlets (Americana) and Gilpin family letters and papers, now in what is known as the *Gilpin Room*. This room also contains other Americana owned by the Society.*

*The Gilpin
Book Plate*

The bookplate which identifies the Gilpin items, contains a fine steel engraving of the coat of arms of the Gilpin family, a boar on a field d'Or. In the year 1206, in the reign of King John, the Baron of Kendal gave to Richard DeGuylpyn the manor of Kentmere for his prowess and skill in slaying a wild boar which had annoyed the forests of Westmoreland and Cumberland. The motto attached was *Dictis Factisque Simplex*.

*Dr. Allibone's
Description
of the
Gilpin
Ancestry*

Of the men of this family, remarkable through generations in divinity, diplomacy, art, science and law, the learned S. Austin Allibone, author of the famous *A Critical Dictionary of English Literature and British and American Authors*, whose conversation the present writer as a youth frequently enjoyed, in addressing a meeting of this Society, held February 13, 1860, spoke as follows:

Let me remind you of Bernard Gilpin, the great apostle of the north, who after laboring zealously for the faith in which he was born, cast in his lot with the reformers, and chose

* The foregoing statements are based on information communicated in a letter dated October 3, 1925, to the present writer, by Ernest Spofford, assistant librarian of The Historical Society of Pennsylvania, and secretary of the trustees of the Gilpin Library fund.

rather to suffer affliction than to enjoy the preferments of a church which he could not love, and of a Queen whom he could not serve—a man so learned in his youth that Wolsey heard of his fame, and the Church of Rome sought him as an opponent to Peter Martyr. . . . I could speak, too, of George Gilpin, the brother of Bernard, the friend of Roger Ascham, the privy councillor of Queen Elizabeth and her ambassador at the Hague; of Dr. Richard Gilpin, who died in 1699, famous both in medicine and divinity, whose *Demonologia Sacra* so thrills the soul of the commentator in Ryland's *Life of Cotton Mather*, that he exclaims in a paroxysm of horror: 'if ever there was a man that was clearly acquainted with the cabinet councils of hell, this author is the man'; of William Gilpin, the vicar of Boldre and prebendary of Sarum, a zealous divine; of Sauwrey Gilpin of the Royal Academy, and of his son, both artists of great reputation.

Thomas Gilpin, the great nephew of Bernard, fought in the Parliamentary army, at Worcester, against the Stuarts, and after their restoration settled at Warborough in the valley of the Thames, exchanged his sword for a pruning hook, and became a Quaker. Joseph, the third son of Thomas, born at Warborough in 1664, settled on the banks of the Brandywine, on the borders of Chester and Delaware Counties, Pennsylvania, in 1696. Thomas Gilpin, the grandson of Joseph, born March 18, 1727, became a prosperous mill owner, devoted himself to philosophic pursuits, maintained a correspondence with Franklin, was a member of both of the societies whose union in 1769 formed the American Philosophical Society, and died at the early age of fifty at Winchester, Virginia, March 2, 1778, in exile as one of those banished from Philadelphia for suspected toryism. Joshua Gilpin, the eldest son of Thomas, born in Philadelphia, November 8, 1765, and dying at Kentmere on the Brandywine in 1842, was the father of Henry D.

*The Gilpins
as Settled
upon the
Delaware*

*Thomas
Gilpin*

Gilpin, whose name and fame are imperishably associated with this Society.*

*Sketch of
Henry D.
Gilpin*

While some of the press notices state that Mr. Gilpin was a native son of Philadelphia, Joseph R. Ingersoll, the most careful of his biographers, in addressing the American Philosophical Society, stated that he was born April 14, 1801, in Lancaster, England, the birthplace of his amiable mother. In early infancy he was brought (September, 1801) to Philadelphia with the family which remained here until 1811. They, then, all returned to England. He was placed in a school at Hemel Hempstead, twenty-three miles from London, kept by Dr. Hamilton, a highly respectable and well known teacher of the classics. It was there that he acquired a devoted fondness for Greek and Latin literatures, both of which he pursued with assiduity to the end of life. He became the intimate correspondent of George Grote, the historian of Greece, and ranked Gibbon's *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* at the very head of the great works which constituted no small part of the glory of English authorship. For forty years he collected the best editions—working editions—of the Greek and Latin classics, and such was his familiarity with the great masters of reason, speculation and eloquence, that Dr. Allibone said of him, "It is rarely given to mortals to be equally familiar with the languages of Demosthenes, of Cicero, and of Chatham."

*Admitted to
the Bar of
Philadel-
phia*

Returning to Philadelphia in 1816, he entered the University of Pennsylvania, taking his degree in July of 1820. He then entered the law office of Joseph R. Ingersoll, and became a member of the Philadelphia bar on November 14, 1822. While a student, and under age, he filled with credit the place of secretary of the Chesapeake and Delaware Canal Company, of which he afterwards became one of the directors.

* *A Memorial of Henry D. Gilpin*, containing all press notices, and the proceedings of the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, of the courts and bar of Philadelphia, of The Historical Society of Pennsylvania, of the Massachusetts Historical Society, of the Chicago Historical Society, and of the American Philosophical Society, privately printed by Eliza Gilpin (widow) in Philadelphia, 1860.

Also "Memoir of Thomas Gilpin," found among the papers of Thomas Gilpin, Jr., published in *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, XLIX, 289.

Mr. William B. Reed stated that he was never an active practitioner at the local bar, but he was always so diligent a student of law that when the time came for action in larger fields he was able to show the fruits of professional study. In 1830, he managed with success a case arising out of a difficulty between two Portuguese ministers, accredited by two different claimants to sovereign power, involving important and delicate international questions. His skill attracted the attention of President Jackson, who appointed him, in 1831, to be United States District Attorney at Philadelphia, as the successor of George M. Dallas, who had become a Senator of the United States. This office he held for five years.

*Becomes
U. S.
District
Attorney*

While in office, he published reports of cases for the eastern district of Pennsylvania from 1828 to 1836, containing the opinions of Judge Joseph Hopkinson. During this period he acted, also under presidential appointment, as one of the government directors of the Bank of the United States. His position was a trying one. Public sentiment generally, and particularly in Philadelphia, was against the presidential policy. Mr. Gilpin, finding himself opposed on principle to the views as well as interests of his friends, lost none of their personal respect while employing his vigorous pen in aid of Jackson's administration. Twice did the Senate of the United States reject his re-nomination as a director of the Bank, and rejected his nomination as governor of the territory of Michigan. When re-appointed as District Attorney of the United States for Pennsylvania, he was unanimously confirmed. In 1837, he was appointed solicitor of the Treasury, and at once removed to Washington. In 1840, when less than forty years of age, he was appointed by President Van Buren to succeed Felix Grundy as Attorney General of the United States. His term of service was brief. With the triumph of the Whigs, through the election of William Henry Harrison, he retired to private life, never again to fill a public office.

*Gilpin's
Reports*

*Appointed a
Director of
the Bank of
the United
States*

*Rejected by
the Senate*

*Becomes
Solicitor
of the
Treasury*

As Attorney General of the United States his activities were remarkable. He argued before the Supreme Court of the United States the *Amistad* case against John Quincy Adams; the case of *Grover vs. Slaughter*, involving the prohibition of the importation of slaves into Mississippi, against

*His Services
as Attorney
General of
the United
States*

Mr. Clay and Mr. Webster; as well as cases arising under the Florida and Louisiana treaties. He published in two volumes octavo, *The Opinions of the Attorneys-General of the United States* from the beginning of the government to 1841, a work of permanent value. He edited also the papers of Madison.

*The Founda-
tion of
his Fortune*

During the earlier portion of his official residence at Washington, the commissioners under the Mexican treaty met, and Mr. Gilpin represented, as an advocate, many of the largest claims that were adjudicated by the board: "On these, respectively, he received a commission," we quote Mr. Ingersoll, "which amounted in the whole to so considerable a sum as to become a broad foundation for the resources which he enjoyed and judiciously invested during life, and bequeathed in ample benevolence at his death." Such golden opportunities are things of the past,* but it was to such a golden opportunity that we owe the present so called Gilpin Trust. During her life time, the widow of Mr. Gilpin, in November, 1872, presented to the Society a two-thirds length portrait in oil of her husband, painted by Samuel B. Waugh.

* Professional sentiment has changed and for the better. It would be impossible for any solicitor of the Treasury of the present day to earn money professionally in such a manner. Our standards of public propriety have been vastly elevated, but in those days—and it is by the standard of the times that Mr. Gilpin must be judged—there was nothing to censure. It was common for even Cabinet officers to appear before the departments and the Supreme Court of the United States, a practice not abandoned until after the close of the Hayes' administration. Mr. Webster, Mr. Evarts, and Mr. George F. Edmunds frequently so appeared, without a criticism.

CHAPTER XXIX

Wallace Administration

Publications of the Society Prior to the Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography

BEFORE proceeding to notice the publications of the Society during the Wallace administration, it may be interesting to the reader to have a summary of what had already been achieved. In December, 1825, the publication of the *Memoirs of The Historical Society of Pennsylvania* was begun. These were continued at intervals until 1840, filling four volumes. Most of these consisted of newly compiled essays, with some orations, all intended to serve as introductions to the study of their respective subjects rather than exhaustive treatises. Each volume contained also printed copies of a few original documents. The particulars have been given in preceding chapters.*

Summary of Publications of the Society

The Memoirs, Vols. I, II, III, and IV

From 1845 to 1848, separate *Bulletins* were issued, stating the transactions of the Society and the Council, accompanied by important brochures, diaries, journals, and letters acquired by the Society. These were collected into a single volume, issued in 1848, entitled *The Bulletin of The Historical Society of Pennsylvania*, with a handsome title page embellished with the seal of the Society. The *Bulletins* were then discontinued.†

The Bulletin

In 1853, a volume of 426 pages was issued entitled *Collections of The Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Volume I*. No second volume under this title followed.

Collections

In 1854, the publication fund was established. The earliest fruits were in the form of separate volumes, each devoted to single subjects; *The History of an Expedition against Fort Du Quesne in 1755; under Major-General Edward Braddock*, appearing in 1855; *Contributions to American History*, appearing in 1858; *The Record of the Court at Upland . . . from 1676 to 1681*, from an original document presented by Doc-

Vols. V, VI and VII of the Memoirs

* *Ante*, Chapter XII.

† *Ante*, Chapter XVI.

tor J. Dickinson Logan; and *A Military Journal* kept by Major E. Denny, 1781 to 1795; both appearing in 1860. The title *Memoirs* was resumed, and the three volumes just referred to carried a separate title page as being Volumes V, VI, and VII of *The Memoirs*.

*Republica-
tion of Vol.
I of
Memoirs* In 1864, Volume I of the *Memoirs*, because of its scarcity and value, was republished, with an enlarged page and superior type and paper, accompanied by valuable biographical and historical notes furnished by the editor, the accomplished Edward Armstrong. There was also an appendix, containing a "List of the Pilgrims of 'The Welcome,'" some poems by Robert Proud, and a most amusing and clever burlesque of colloquies between the justices of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania and members of the bar, from the bold pen of James Dunlop, the compiler of the once well known *General Laws of Pennsylvania, 1700-1846*, known as Dunlop's, and also *The Digest of the General Laws of the United States with References and Notes of Decisions* which bears his name.

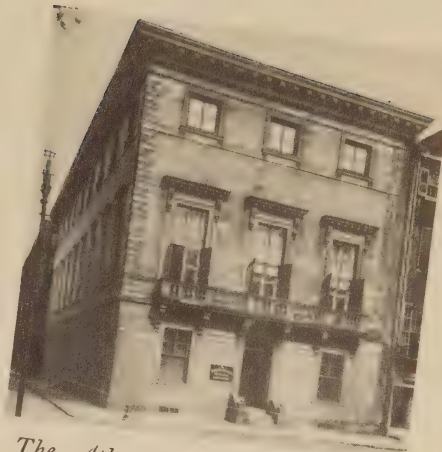
*Vol. VIII
of Memoirs* In 1867, Volume VIII of the *Memoirs* appeared, containing "The Minutes of the Committee of Defence of Philadelphia, 1814-15," from the original manuscript presented to the Society by the secretary of the committee, a few years before his death.

*Miscel-
laneous
Publications* In addition to the foregoing volumes, the various historical, biographical and statistical addresses delivered before the Society from time to time, which had been separately printed as pamphlets were collected and bound in four volumes entitled *Miscellaneous Publications of The Historical Society of Pennsylvania*. Among the most important of these was the *Catalogue of the Paintings and other Objects of Interest* belonging to the Society, contained in Volume IV, and published in 1872.

Interspersed through the seven thousand pages of these fifteen volumes were important maps, diagrams, tables of statistics, facsimiles of original letters and documents, with striking portraits of individuals famous in our annals, drawn from the precious, and, in some instances, unique originals in the possession of the Society. The mass, though small in bulk as compared with the present output, was representative of the tens



*Residence of Thomas I. Wharton
Here the first meeting was held*



*The Athenaeum Building, 219
South Sixth Street, housed the
Society from 1847-1872*



*The Picture Build-
ing, Spruce Street
above Eighth, was
used by the Society
from 1872-1883*

*The Patterson Man-
sion, Thirteenth and
Locust Streets, was
occupied from 1883-
1905. The site is that
of the present building*



Early Homes of the Society

of thousands of unpublished papers constituting the marrow of the inner as well as public life of Pennsylvania, furnishing rich sustenance to the twelve thousand books, and eighty thousand pamphlets secured for the Society within a period of forty-six years, without assistance from the state, by a small but devoted band of men who sought to preserve in perpetual lustre the honorable past of the commonwealth.

Two years after Mr. Wallace was inducted into office the first volume of the *Correspondence between William Penn and James Logan* appeared, followed two years later (1872) by a second volume, being respectively Volumes IX and X of the *Memoirs*.* The statement was made by the librarian in March, 1871, that the first volume was printed "from original letters in possession of the Logan family with notes by the late Deborah Logan." The work had been long promised and long delayed by an interesting series of incidents.

*Vols. IX
and X
of the
Memoirs*

During the Revolution, as Watson tells us in his *Annals*, the papers narrowly escaped destruction at the hands of two British soldiers, who had been sent to burn Stenton, but were prevented by the cleverness of the housekeeper, who pointed them out as deserters to a British officer, who opportunely appeared inquiring for deserters. Deborah Logan, the wife of Dr. George Logan, the grandson of James Logan, finding the originals "much decayed," undertook to copy them with a view to the preservation of the contents. She soon discovered others prior in date to those originals copied, and after several years of labor produced eleven quarto manuscript volumes. These she reduced to four volumes and edited them with notes. The American Philosophical Society, while Mr. Du Ponceau was secretary of the Committee on History and Biography, as has been seen,† first contemplated the publication of the work, but yielded the task to this Society during the Rawle administration. Although Messrs. Roberts Vaux, Charles J. Ingersoll and Isaac Norris, a kinsman of Mrs.

*The Penn
and Logan
Corre-
spondence*

* The period covered was from 1700 to 1750, from which it appears that the title page is too narrowly worded, as the death of William Penn occurred in 1714, and the bulk of the correspondence is of a later date. The matter forms no part of the Penn papers previously described in Chapter III, *ante*, p. 40.

† *Ante*, Chapter III.

Logan, took up the task of securing the manuscript copies, the effort failed. Another effort was made in 1839 to obtain the manuscripts from the son of Mrs. Logan. Du Ponceau, John Vaughan and Job R. Tyson were the intercessors. Then came the discovery by Joshua Francis Fisher of a serious loss of papers.* Finally, through the intercession of William Duane, two volumes of manuscripts, indexed and bound, were presented to the Society by Dr. Logan—and later four more volumes. This mass of manuscripts constituted our raw material. Then difficulties arose with the manuscript, which was hard to decipher, and a lack of funds retarded the execution of the task, which was committed to the capable hands of Edward Armstrong. In the meantime, Samuel M. Janney in his comprehensive *Life of William Penn* made a liberal use of the earlier portions, and Alfred Cope in the *Friend* published frequent extracts.

The two volumes, as edited by Mr. Armstrong and published by the Society, contain letters of the Founder from 1700 to 1711, and letters of the Penn family to James Logan as late as 1738. Besides the two printed volumes there are four still remaining in manuscript, entitled Logan Papers and Letter Books of James Logan, beginning in 1701 and ending in June, 1743.†

*Vol. XI
of the
Memoirs*

In 1874, a long neglected line of study and research was resumed, and a fresh as well as strong impulse was given by the publication of Volume XI of the *Memoirs* under the joint auspices of the historical societies of Pennsylvania and Dela-

*History of
New
Sweden by
Acrelius*

ware. The title page reads, *A History of New Sweden; or, the Settlements on the River Delaware* by Israel Acrelius, Provost of the Swedish Churches in America and Rector of the Old Swedes Church, Wilmington, Del. This was translated from the Swedish with an introduction and notes by William M. Reynolds, D.D., member of The Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

*Holm's De-
scription of
New
Sweden*

As far back as 1833, under the Rawle administration, Mr. Du Ponceau had translated for this Society from the Swedish "A Short Description of the Province of New Sweden" by

* *Ante*, Chapter XII, p. 174.

† Report of A. J. Edmunds to the writer, under date of June 1 and 6, 1927.

Thomas Campanius Holm which occupied, with interesting maps and illustrations, 166 pages of Volume III of the *Memoirs*.* The work of Holm had been printed at Stockholm in 1702, and a copy in the possession of the Library Company of Philadelphia was used by Du Ponceau as the original text. Neglect of this work was largely caused by the translator's frank depreciation of his author, declaring that Holm lacked talents, judgment and sound criticism. Moreover, he had filled his pages with fabulous and ridiculous recitals. Du Ponceau lauded the later work of Acrelius, printed at Stockholm in 1759, pronouncing it to be, in his opinion, "a history much more complete, and in every respect superior to that now presented to the public; to which, however, as being the oldest, the preference has, for the present, been given." From these words it was inferred that Du Ponceau intended to translate Acrelius also, and it was incorrectly reported that he had left such a work in manuscript. In the meantime it was ascertained that the Rev. Dr. Collin, the last Swedish rector of the churches on the Delaware had translated many passages of Acrelius for the benefit of Dr. Miller of Princeton, who was engaged upon his church history. Dr. Miller, it appeared, had transferred the Collin translations to the American Philosophical Society by whom they were again transferred to the New York Historical Society for publication in their *Collections*.†

*Du
Ponceau's
Deprecia-
tion of
Holm*

The matter did not end there. The New York editor declared that "a complete version of Acrelius would be a valuable contribution to the stock of American history." Ferris in his *History of the Original Settlements on the Delaware* lamented the imperfect extracts selected by Collin, which related chiefly to controversies between the Dutch and the Swedes, and urged a complete translation of the entire work. Finally, the zeal of our fellow members, Joseph J. Mickley, John Jordan, Jr., Townsend Ward, and the Rev. William C. Reichel of Bethlehem, all of whom were familiar with the Swedish language and with Swedish American colonial his-

*Importance
of the
Work of
Acrelius*

* *Ante*, Chapter IX, p. 142.

† The incomplete work appears in *Collections of New York Historical Society*, New Series, I, 401-448, published in 1841.

tory, persuaded their fellow member, the Rev. Dr. Reynolds to undertake the task. It was thus that this interesting and important work, contemplated during the days of President Rawle, was accomplished in a volume of 458 pages with a learned introduction by the translator, under the presidency of Mr. Wallace. A new field had been entered, which, in recent years, has been richly tilled.

A work of the utmost consequence and value to a history of the commonwealth, requiring years of research and widely extended co-operation between experts in various lines in all parts of the state as well as in New Jersey and Delaware, appeared in 1875. It was based on suggestions regarding the production of a correct geographical and historical map of Pennsylvania, presented by J. Ross Snowden in 1868. It consisted of but 26 printed pages explanatory of a *Historical Map of Pennsylvania* to which they served as an introduction. It is the least known of all our publications. Probably, because of its thinness, it escapes notice in the midst of bulky shelf neighbors, or, it may be, that the finder shrinks from the difficulty of refolding a large map on thin paper with many cross folds. Notwithstanding these drawbacks it is at once the most comprehensive as well as the most detailed epitome of the history and geography of Pennsylvania in existence. Rich will be the reward of any one who will give three serious hours to its examination.

An admirable introduction from the pen of Townsend Ward unfolds its purpose. He dwells upon the beauty and appropriateness of the aboriginal nomenclature of Pennsylvania. "The Indian dialect spoken here was soft and liquid, and unusually free from the guttural sounds characteristic of the language elsewhere. Lackawanna, Susquehanna, Juniata, Monongahela are names which for euphony are rarely equalled." Changes in Indian names, or mispronunciations equivalent to changes fast obliterate original designations. Callapatscink has become Yellow Breeches, Whopehawly is now Wapwallopen, and Pena Pecha has been corrupted into Pennypack. "To arrest these changes, or at least to note them, is essential both as a matter of history, and as a matter of geography." A map, Mr. Ward argued, while seeming only to

*Historical
Map of
Pennsyl-
vania*

*Mr. Ward's
Introduc-
tion to
the Map*

display an existing condition, might truly be called a herald of the future. The map of Nicholas Scull, in 1759, with its Indian paths, and its chain of forts on an advancing frontier forecast the coming struggle between races, but the plough of the victor obliterated the graves of the vanquished, while the graver's tool on newer maps had neglected the traces of fort, path, or Indian village. In the same way the Swedish names on Lindström's map—produced a century earlier than Scull's—had been swept away by the tide of progress, leaving but a portion of their debris in libraries—"those quiet eddies of the flood."

Thoughts such as these had moved Joshua Francis Fisher to offer at a meeting of this Society his resolutions of December 12, 1853, for the appointment of a committee to collect and prepare material for the restoration of Indian names. Subsequently, a fellow member, without knowledge of Mr. Fisher's proposal, Mr. Peter W. Sheaffer, of Pottsville, undertook the preparation of a historical map of the state. The map as published incorporated with it the information that resulted from the earlier effort, and embodied many of the features suggested by Mr. Snowden. In the spring of 1873, trial impressions of the map thus prepared were sent to gentlemen in all parts of the state with requests for suggestions and corrections. Aid was received from 48 gentlemen—engineers, surveyors, local historians, citizens, judges, and writers—whose names are listed, and who added Dutch, Swedish and English names to Indian designations, and traced the routes of the armies of Braddock, Armstrong, Forbes, Bouquet, Sullivan, Wayne, Washington, Howe, Lee and Mifflin, and of Lee and Meade. Topographical defects were admitted to exist, as prior maps of Pennsylvania had not been the results of actual connected surveys, and exact county lines had not been definitely ascertained, nor had it been possible to reconcile the partial maps and surveys of numerous railroads and canals.

Notwithstanding these defects the map itself as finally published under the editorship of Mr. Sheaffer and others is a striking achievement, creditable to the industry and knowledge of the compilers, and of lasting assistance to students of our history. The title page is fairly descriptive of the work. It

*Steps in the
Preparation
of the Map*

The Title Page of the Map reads as follows: "Historical Map of Pennsylvania. Showing the Indian Names of Streams, and Villages, and Paths of Travel; the Sites of Old Forts and Battle Fields; the Successive Purchases from the Indians; and the Names and Dates of Counties and County Towns; with Tables of Forts and Proprietary Manors."

The Historical Tables The historical tables, covering events from Hudson's discovery of Delaware Bay in 1609 to the centennial exercises in Philadelphia in 1876, present in chronological order matter of prime importance to the student by furnishing him with reliable outlines, and, so close is the similarity, might well have served as a model to the industrious and indefatigable Barr Ferree, late secretary of the Pennsylvania Society in New York City, in preparing his table of contents to *Pennsylvania: a Primer*. It also was of value to Dr. George P. Donehoo in his recent *History of the Indian Villages and Place Names in Pennsylvania*. The list of forts, block houses, and stockades, one hundred and eleven in number, is alphabetically arranged, with the date, location and character of each structure, and with the name of its builder.

Lists of Forts In the list of manors, embracing seventy, there is given the names of the grantees, the dates of grant, the acreages, and the locations with descriptive remarks. To these are added twenty warrants issued by the proprietaries for purposes essentially those of manors, although not so classed among the records of the land department of Pennsylvania. There is also added a list of the manors in the three lower counties now constituting the state of Delaware.

The Map Itself The map itself is 40½ by 25 inches. The left hand margin is embellished with a reduction of an Indian map traced on a block of gray sandstone three and a half feet long, two feet wide and one foot thick discovered on the west branch of the Susquehanna near the Sinnemahoning by Walter R. Johnson in 1836, and communicated by him to this Society.* There are also, in the margin, drawings from Indian hieroglyphics indented on a rock on the left bank of the Allegheny River in Venango County, five miles south of Franklin; † also reduced

* See *Memoirs of The Hist. Soc. of Pa.*, IV, 91.

† Day's *Historical Collections of the State of Pennsylvania*, p. 639.

copies of figures carved by the Indians on two gneissic rocks in the Susquehanna River below the dam at Safe Harbor, Pa., drawn from casts taken in plaster in 1864 by Professor Porter, under the auspices of the Linnaean Society of Lancaster County, and Indian engravings on rocks in the Susquehanna, near the Maryland line.

The acquisitions of territory in Pennsylvania under treaties with the Indians, six in number, between September, 1718, and the deed of confirmation from the United States, March 3, 1792, are given with detail as to extent and terms at the bottom of the map. Each tract as ceded is appropriately and separately colored. The interesting historical detail of events and locations is carried on both sides of the Delaware River into the states of New Jersey and Delaware. In truth the map is a pictorial, historical and geographical chart of all that was of consequence in colonial and later days, refreshing the recollections of seasoned readers, and stimulating the young to research.

In 1876, even though public attention was largely drawn to the celebration and discussion of events which had occurred one hundred years before, a calm student of a far earlier period was found, whose labors ripe for publication met the approval of Mr. Wallace and his co-workers. In that year Volume XII of the *Memoirs* of this Society appeared in the shape of a new and revised edition of the Rev. John Heckewelder's *History, Manners and Customs of the Indian Nations Who Once Inhabited Pennsylvania and the Neighbouring States*, with an introduction and notes by the Rev. William C. Reichel of Bethlehem, Pa. The first edition had been published in 1818 under the auspices of the Historical and Literary Committee of the American Philosophical Society with a handsome dedication in the shape of a letter addressed to Dr. Caspar Wistar, as president of the Philosophical Society, by Heckewelder himself, then in his seventy-sixth year. The work met with enthusiastic commendation from Wistar, Du Ponceau, Dr. Jarvis of New York and other students of our Indian history, and was favorably reviewed in the *North American Review*. A German translation was published at Göttingen in 1821, and a French translation by Du Ponceau appeared in Paris

*Vol. XII
of the
Memoirs*

*Early Editions of
Heckewelder's
History of
the Indians*

in 1822. Later, as was perhaps to be expected, several severe and somewhat vindictive criticisms appeared in the *Review*, charging Heckewelder with undue partiality for the Lenni Lenape tribes, and unfairness to their enemies among the tribes of the Six Nations. The subject was also discussed in a book by a Mr. Halkett in England. These assaults stirred the wrath of President Rawle. On February 15, 1826, he read at a meeting of the Council, a spirited and persuasive *Vindication* of Heckewelder's history.*

In 1834, Dr. Benjamin H. Coates, one of our founders, delivered the annual discourse, devoted exclusively to an ethnological examination of the "Origin of the Indian Population of America," making respectful mention of Heckewelder.† In 1848, this Society received a copy of Henry R. Schoolcraft's *Notes on the Iroquois*, which induced Maurice C. Jones of Bethlehem, Pa., to present a memorandum of the names and significations given by the Lenni Lenape to the rivers, streams and places within the states of Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Maryland and Virginia taken from the papers of Heckewelder during his missions among the Indians. This paper, making 30 pages in print, was published in the *Bulletin* of this Society.‡ Thus was interest in the work of Heckewelder kept alive in our midst.

To the flames thus kindled fresh material was supplied by the labors expended on the preparation of the historical map of Pennsylvania, elaborated, as has just been seen, between the year of Mr. Fisher's resolution in 1853, and the year of actual publication in 1875. The wide interest awakened in the search for Indian names and in the ascertainment of the locations of Indian tribes, with which the map is plentifully sprinkled, and a growing desire for detailed historical accounts which a map could not supply, led to an insistent demand for a republication of Heckewelder's book.

The Rev. Wm. C. Reichel, editor of the new and revised edition, sprang from the same Moravian stock as Heckewelder himself, a close student of the lives of Christian F. Post, David

* *Memoirs of The Historical Society of Pennsylvania*, I, 258.

† *Ibid.*, III, Part II, 1-65.

‡ *Bulletin*, I, 122-154.

Steps Taken
for a New
Edition

A New
Edition
Demanded

The Edition

Zeisberger and Heckewelder, whose daughters living in Bethlehem were numbered among his intimate friends, undertook the task at the request of the Council. Such were the merits of his introduction and his notes, which are a rich mine of information on Indian affairs, that notwithstanding the heavy drains upon our funds, publication could not be delayed.

The reader will observe that the foregoing narrative is illustrative of the manner in which the publications of the Society serve most usefully to clamp the labors of the past through successive generations to the work of today, and continuously sustain the purpose of our charter in "elucidating the history of the State."

CHAPTER XXX

Wallace Administration

*The Establishment of the Magazine of History and Biography —
Review of the First Seven Volumes of the Magazine — Amendments
of Constitution and By-Laws — The Penn Statue — Accessions —
Purchase of the Patterson Mansion — Death of Mr. Wallace*

*Establish-
ment of the
Pennsyl-
vania
Magazine
of History
and Biog-
raphy*

FOR the fifth time a change was effected in the title of the periodical publications of the Society. In 1877, the trustees of the publication fund established *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, a work now in its fifty-third year [1928]. It is an impressive quarterly, of large octavo size, in handsome well spaced type, and richly illustrated. The librarians, Frederick D. Stone, John W. Jordan and Thomas Lynch Montgomery share the honors of its editorship. The first seven volumes are to be credited to the Wallace administration, and to the editorship of Mr. Stone.

Its Objects

The objects, as stated in the announcement made with the first number, were "to foster and develop the interest that has been awakened in historical matters, and to furnish the means of inter-communication between those of kindred tastes." No article has ever been paid for. The more than twenty-six thousand pages of the work to date are the sifted grain passing through the faithful hands of zealous and unselfish searchers after historic truth, or of generous contributors of their findings in diverse fields to the common stock stored in an imposing historic warehouse. A valuable means of checking errors, of correcting dates or names, of noting differences of opinion, of conducting discussions, of contributing incidents or letters, of pointing out new sources of information, has been continuously maintained under the heading of "Notes and Queries" at the close of each quarterly number.

*Its Depart-
ment of
Notes and
Queries*

An examination of the first seven volumes of the magazine discloses the interesting feature that there are important serial

contributions running from volume to volume, which, if compacted, would constitute of themselves impressive separate publications. Such sustained efforts, based on research, furnish broad horizons, varied perspectives, progressive arguments, continuousness of action, and relative values, giving permanency of interest to a special body of literature quite distinct from the discursiveness of fugitive pieces or ephemeral essays. The biographical sketches of Colonial and Revolutionary statesmen, under the title "Centennial Collection," referred to on a previous page as a part of this Society's activities in the year 1876, run through four volumes. Comprising more than two hundred biographies from the pens of descendants or relatives of famous men they abound in varieties of treatment equal to those displayed in a collection of portrait miniatures.*

*General
Features*

*Centennial
Collections*

The "Descendants of Jöran Kyn, the Founder of Upland," now Chester, Pa., by Dr. Gregory B. Keen, is more than a series of genealogies. Running through six volumes, it is, in substance, an animated history of the Swedish settlements on the Delaware, teeming with notes on the personal characters of resolute men and women of Swedish stock, and casting light on the days of Johan Printz of Tinicum fame, and of the ill fated John Rysingh.† At the same time, as a part of the history of the Swedish settlers, Dr. Keen translated a "Letter of Peter Minuit Proposing the Founding of the Colony of New Sweden"; ‡ the important work of Professor Odhner of the University of Lund, on "The Founding of New Sweden, 1637-1642"; § and the equally important "Account of Willem Usselincx and the South, Ship and West India Companies of Sweden," || by the same translator, and also "The His-

*Descendants
of Jöran
Kyn*

* "Centennial Collection," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, I, 73, 78, 80, 83, 86, 96, 100, 181, 183, 188, 202, 212, 333, 343, 439, 443, 445, 449; II, 74, 84, 185, 196, 306, 314, 433, 436, 438; III, 96, 194, 319, 438; IV, 89, 225, 361.

† "The Descendants of Jöran Kyn," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, II, 325, 443; III, 88, 206, 331, 437; IV, 99, 234, 343, 484; V, 85, 217, 334, 451; VI, 106, 207, 329, 453; VII, 94, 200, 299, 464.

‡ *Ibid.*, VI, 458.

§ *Ibid.*, III, 269, 395.

|| *Ibid.*, VII, 268.

tory of the Colony of New Sweden," by Carl K. S. Sprinchorn.*

*Presentation
of Portrait
of Queen
Christina*

This concentration of attention upon the affairs of the Swedish Delaware colony, and the personnel of the Swedish settlers was a natural sequence to the publication of the new and revised edition of Acrelius, stimulated by an outburst of enthusiasm caused by the presentation to this Society, on April 16, 1877, of a large portrait in oil of Christina, Queen of Sweden, copied by Miss Elsie Arnberg, of Stockholm, from the original by David Beek, a pupil of Vandyke, in the National Museum at Stockholm. The ceremonies and the speeches on this occasion have been preserved in full recognition of their importance.†

*Record of
Burials—
Christ
Church*

The "Records of Christ Church, Philadelphia. Burials, 1709-1760," extracted from the records of Christ Church, Philadelphia, by the painstaking Charles R. Hildeburn, runs through seven volumes.‡ The alphabetical arrangement of the names from Abbett to Zenger, the particularity with which the dates are stated, and the descriptive identifications of the persons buried attest the tireless industry in the performance of a cheerless task by one to whom the present and future generations of genealogists and biographers owe and will owe debts of gratitude.

*The Ger-
mantown
Road*

Eight charming papers, contributed by Townsend Ward, run through two volumes, entitled "The Germantown Road and its Associations," § profusely illustrated by the gifted pencil of David McEnery Stauffer, and by the earliest etchings of the now world famous Joseph Pennell. Then came "South Second Street and Its Associations." Once again did Mr. Ward act as an instructive guide. Then, turning north, he led to the starting point of his first stroll up Germantown Road in two essays "North Second Street and Its Associa-

* *Ibid.*, VII, 395; VIII, 17, 129, 241. *See also, post*, Volume II, Chapter VI.

† *Ibid.*, I, 149-162.

‡ "Records of Christ Church, Philadelphia. Burials, 1709-1760," *Ibid.*, I, 219, 350, 460; II, 97, 219, 336, 459; III, 102, 224, 342, 458; IV, 113, 383, 501; V, 223, 343, 462; VI, 239, 348, 475; VII, 101, 221, 338.

§ "The Germantown Road," *Ibid.*, V, 1, 121, 241, 365; VI, 1, 129, 257, 377.

tions," and "Second Street and the Second Street Road and Their Associations." *

*South and
North Sec-
ond Streets*

"The Diary of Robert Morton," † kept in Philadelphia while the British were in occupation of the city, abounds in graphic touches descriptive of individuals or of incidents, and is fortified by invaluable notes supplied by Frederick D. Stone and John W. Jordan. Miss Helen Bell translated, from the correspondence of Professor Schlözer of Göttingen a German officer's impressions of our city, written while the Hessians were in Philadelphia.‡

*Diary of
Robert
Morton*

The "Journal of William Black," § secretary to commissioners from Virginia, Maryland and Pennsylvania, to treat with the Iroquois Indians in 1744, besides giving pictures of the social life in three colonies, describes a busy June 3 in Philadelphia. On that day, Black rose at 7:00 a.m., walked in the garden with the Rev. Richard Peters, visited Colonel Lee, who was swallowing bark for intermittent fevers, breakfasted with Colonel Beverly "and some more of our Gang," went to Christ Church, and heard "a very Good Discourse on the Words in the 19 Ch. of Matthew," but found his attention concentrated on "the Peughs and Boxes" filled with a fine collection of extraordinary women. He attended a levee at the commissioner's lodgings; dined at Andrew Hamilton's house at Bush Hill at a quarter after one o'clock; partook of "near 18 Dish of Meat, besides a very nice Collation"; attended church in the afternoon, visiting "the Reverend Mr. Gilbert Tennant, a Disciple of the Great Whitefield, whose followers are Call'd the New Lights." In describing Tennant's manner, he adroitly described Whitefield, in these words: "We found him Delivering his Doctrine with a very Good Grace, Split his Text as Judiciously, turn'd up the Whites of his Eyes as Theologically, Cuff'd his Cushion as Orthodoxly, and twist'd his Band as Primitively as his Master Whitefield could have done, had he been there himself." Then "circumspectly" he bent his course

*Journal of
William
Black*

*June 3,
1744*

*A Spirited
Narrative*

* *Ibid.*, IV, 42, 164, 401.

† *Ibid.*, I, 1-39.

‡ *Ibid.*, I, 40-43. "The Hessians in Philadelphia."

§ *Ibid.*, I, 117, 233, 404.

to the Quaker Meeting, found a travelling Friend, "Labouring Under the Spirit very Powerfully," who "hurried himself so on, as if he had not half time to say what he had in his Mind, . . . [for] one Sentence came so fast treading on the heels of Another, that I was in great pain of his Choaking." In the evening, he supped with Mr. Strettell, and spent an hour with Captain Blair. "About 9 O'Clock went to my Lodgings, where I Spent sometime in Reading. I went to Bed 35 Minutes after 10." *

*The
Wharton
Family*

In "The Wharton Family," † running through four volumes, our late fellow member, Miss Anne Hollingsworth Wharton, in the first flush of her now widely extended fame, discoursed in five chapters of Thomas Wharton and his descendants—a family of which Thomas I. Wharton, one of the founders of this Society, was a distinguished member—in a text so full of color as to presage the methods pursued by her in her later writing of Colonial days. Samuel W. Pennypacker, then a rising member of the bar, later a judge, a governor of Pennsylvania, and the ninth president of this Society, presented an authoritative paper, subsequently expanded into a separate book, on "The Settlement of Germantown and the Causes Which Led to It." ‡ Professor Oswald Seidensticker, of the University of Pennsylvania, and a councillor of this Society from 1874 to 1886, under the title of "William Penn's Travels in Holland and Germany in 1677," § discussed in a thoroughly finished way, the profound effects of those journeys in "preparing the way for an immigration that rapidly filled the wooded hills and fertile valleys of the young colony with thrifty farmers, and gave to the population of our State features of a peculiar mould." No better monograph, or more exhaustive study of German influences on our early history can be found.

*Notable
Biographies*

There were, as well, two admirable biographical sketches, models of what such brochures should be; the first, of General Armand, Marquis de la Rouerie, Brigadier-General in the

* *Ibid.*, I, 411-412.

† "The Wharton Family," *Ibid.*, I, 324, 455; II, 50, 211; V, 426; VI, 91.

‡ *Ibid.*, IV, 1-41.

§ *Ibid.*, II, 237-282.

Continental Army,* by Townsend Ward; the other of Daniel Dulany,† the most eminent of Maryland lawyers of the eighteenth century, by John H. B. Latrobe, of Baltimore. The latter sketch was enhanced in value by the publication in the same volume of a letter, dated December 9, 1755, from Dulany, amounting to an essay on the middle colonies, in which there is a full treatment of Braddock's expedition and defeat.

Lawrence Lewis, Jr., whose early death was a loss to the Philadelphia bar, wrote of "The Courts of Pennsylvania in the Seventeenth Century," ‡ and of "Edward Shippen, Chief-Justice of Pennsylvania." § Spencer Bonsall wrote upon "Computation of Time, and Changes of Style in the Calendar." || Frederick D. Stone wrote an appreciative but at the same time critical review of "McMaster's History of the People of the United States." ¶ The first volume had just appeared, and ran into three editions in three months.

*The Courts
of the 17th
Century
and other
Articles*

There were lesser papers by the score, addresses, notes of travel, extracts from diaries and journals, letters and abstracts from public records, translations, vindications, accounts of battles and battlefields, pen portraits of queens and bishops, of merchants and pioneers, of missionaries and law-breakers, sufficient in variety of subject and treatment to meet different appetites in tasting of the past. Some of them, while tentative in research, were like uplifted lanterns in mines, revealing veins of untouched wealth or suggesting new lines of exploration.

*Miscellaneous
Papers*

The first seven volumes of the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, of necessity but hurriedly reviewed, established a high standard of excellence, which has been maintained, and carried the name and reputation of this Society into numerous libraries at home and abroad. No activity of the Society is more deserving of support than its *Magazine*. The usefulness of this Society as an educational institution largely rests on making known the labors of those who bring

* "Charles Armand Tufin, Marquis de la Rouerie," *Ibid.*, II, 1.

† "Biographical Sketch of Daniel Dulany," *Ibid.*, III, 1-10.

‡ "The Courts of Pennsylvania," *Ibid.*, V, 141.

§ "Edward Shippen," *Ibid.*, VII, 11.

|| "Computation of Time," *Ibid.*, II, 394; III, 65.

¶ "McMaster's History," *Ibid.*, VII, 206.

*The Claims
of the
Magazine*

to light the exhaustless stores with which the liberality of men and women of the past and present have enriched and are enriching our archives. To paraphrase Pliny, the glory of men consists in doing what deserves to be written, in writing what deserves to be read, in publishing what deserves to be known, in supporting all efforts to spread knowledge, and in so living as to make the world happier and better for our living in it.

It is now in order, although requiring a retrospect, to consider the legal basis upon which rested the organization and management of the affairs of the Society.

*The Charter
of the
Society and
its History*

The original charter had been drawn agreeably to the provisions of "An Act to confer on certain associations of the citizens of this Commonwealth the powers and immunities of corporations or bodies politic in law." * Having passed the examination and approval of the Attorney General and of the judges of the Supreme Court, it was signed by Governor J. Andrew Shulze on June 2, 1826. It recited the names of the incorporators,† followed by the graceful preamble from the pen of Thomas I. Wharton.‡ Then came the constitution divided into eight articles. After the manner of charters in those days, the details of organization, the number and election of officers, the functions of the officers, the times of meetings, and even the character of the exercises were specifically stated. The only elastic provision in the entire instrument was in article eight, admitting amendments after proper notice. In short, matters now provided for by by-laws were rigidly embodied in the constitution.

*Doubts as
to Validity
of Amend-
ments*

This proved highly inconvenient, and as we have seen numerous efforts were made from time to time to tinker with the constitution.§ Doubts had arisen, as stated by Mr. Wallace, as to whether the Society had power, without more formal action than any evidence now remained to show had ever been taken, to amend its original charter by the adoption of such instruments as it had adopted. A special committee, consisting

* Act of April 6, 1791.

† See *ante*, p. 60.

‡ *Ibid.*, Chapter IV, pp. 57-58.

§ *Ante*, Chapter XVII. See also Vol. I of the *Memoirs*, as republished in 1864, p. 16, and *Ibid.*, xv.

of the Hon. Craig Biddle, Ferdinand J. Dreer and Samuel Parrish, drafted a special Act of Assembly, which was approved April 18, 1873, by Governor Hartranft, entitled a "Supplement to the Charter of The Historical Society of Pennsylvania altering and amending the same." This Act was accepted by a vote of the Society at a "Called Meeting," March 4, 1874, in the shape of a written acceptance spread upon the Minutes, signed by six hundred and sixty-seven members, thus presenting an interesting and authentic catalogue of the many distinguished names then upon our roll.*

*The
Amending
Statute*

The gains to the Society, in the way of enlarged powers, were: to have perpetual succession; to have a common seal and the same to change at pleasure; to make contracts, to sue and be sued; to have unlimited power to purchase, take, hold and convey any estate, real or personal; to establish all by-laws necessary for its good government and regulation, for the management of its affairs, and for the care of its property, provided they be not repugnant to the Constitution and laws of the United States or of this commonwealth; the power to abolish offices existing and create others in their room or in addition; to prescribe the mode and time of election of officers and Council and determine their respective duties; and finally, the right of each member to vote at elections on all questions, either in person or by proxy—a right long desired by aged, or infirm or non-resident members.

*Advantages
Gained to
the Society*

The result was embodied in a body of by-laws, adopted March 9, 1874, and amended January 3, 1876.†

In November, 1875, an interesting illustration of the public regard for the judgment of the Society upon matters of history occurred in the request of the Commissioners of Public Buildings in charge of the erection of the present City Hall

* But five of these signers are alive today [1928]—Samuel Wagner, Jr., Charles Penrose Keith, Frederick A. Riehle, Helen Bell and Edward R. Wood. At the close of 1873, shortly prior to the acceptance of the amended charter, the membership was reported as follows: Life Members 307, Resident Members (Phila.) 716; Non-Resident (Pa.) 198; Non-Resident (in other states) 279; Foreign Members, 41. Total 1541.

† *Miscellaneous Publications of The Historical Society*, IV. These by-laws were again amended in May, 1894, and again in November, 1902. See *post*, Vol. II, Chapter VIII.

*The Penn
Statue*

that the Society should "signify their authoritative decision as to the most authentic accessible representation of Penn to serve as the basis of a design for a statue." A committee, of which Judge Craig Biddle was the chairman, but the late George Harrison Fisher was the really active member, reported as the result of investigation of the matter of costume,

*The Cos-
tume and
Appearance
of Penn*

and of all accessible material relating to the person and dress of Penn, that the most appropriate costume was that belonging to the ordinary gentleman of the time of Penn's first visit to this country, which was unmarked by the severities of the Quakers, and unspoiled by the fopperies of the reign of Charles II. Pepys' *Diary*, Planché's history of British costume, Fairholt's book on costumes in England, and Joshua Francis Fisher's account of "The Private Life and Domestic Habits of William Penn" * gave the result, "a straight close fitting cassock, reaching nearly to the knees, over a straight coat a trifle longer, and knee breeches fastened with bows. The straight edges of the coat and waistcoat were plentifully furnished with buttons. At the bottom of the coat behind, there was a slit—the mere embryo of our coat tails, also ornamented with buttons. The sleeves only reached to the elbows, for cuffs were not adopted until the reign of William. The sleeves of the shirt were of varying degrees of fulness, and tailors varied the fulness of the breeches which were fastened a little below the knee. Probably Penn wore a pair of breeches that would readily fit inside of his riding boots. Periwigs were universal. On top of such masses of artificial hair, high crowned hats would have been insecure, hence hats were made low; some with straight brims, but more generally cocked. Silk and worsted stockings were worn, and the shoes were low and fastened with rosettes. Buckles were of a later date. Cravats, made of lace, were worn with straight ends, resembling clerical bands."

From this report, submitted to Mueller, Quackenboss & Co. of this city, there was made a model in clay, about three feet in height, representing Penn in the full vigor of manhood, and of active proportions, corresponding to Hepworth Dixon's

* *Memoirs of The Historical Society of Pennsylvania*, III, Part II, 69-102.

description of him, "Erect in stature, every motion indicating honest pride—in every limb and feature the expression of a serene and manly beauty." The face was taken from the Armor Portrait presented to this Society by Granville Penn. His age was about thirty-eight. The dress was largely as suggested in Mr. Fisher's description. The figure was in a speaking attitude, with the left hand holding the charter of the city of Philadelphia, as the statue was intended to represent him in his relations to the city rather than to the state. In approving of the statuette as presented, as probably historically accurate as to costume, the Society, at the instance of Mr. Brinton Coxe, refrained from recommending a colossal bronze statue copied from the model. It might not be suitable for a statue 35 feet high at an elevation of 417 feet. The question was one of architecture as well as sculpture, and full scope must be allowed to the genius and idealism of the sculptor and the architect. All that the Society could do was to certify to the truth and fidelity of the portrait and the historical accuracy of the costume, without determining any question of the fine arts. It was so ordered.

*Clay Model
Prepared*

*Restrained
Approval of
the Society*

In November, 1879, the Society was addressed for the first time in its history, by his Excellency, the Governor of the Commonwealth, the Honorable Henry M. Hoyt, who read a paper entitled "A Brief of a Title in the Seventeen Townships in the County of Luzerne: a Syllabus of the Controversy between Connecticut and Pennsylvania." This masterly discourse, displaying research and ability as well as eloquence of expression, and one of the finest tributes to the meaning of the words "the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania," was subsequently expanded into a treatise and separately published by the trustees of the publication fund.

*Hoyt's
Syllabus of
the Connec-
ticut Claims*

The stated meeting in March, 1880, was one of unusual interest. An oil portrait of Major General John F. Reynolds, painted by Balling, had been bequeathed to the Society by his brother, Rear Admiral William Reynolds. The executors, through Major Joseph G. Rosengarten of General Reynolds' staff, made public presentation in the presence of Governor Hoyt, and former Governors Curtin and Hartranft, Rear Admiral George F. Emmons, and numerous military and naval

*Presenta-
tion of the
Portrait of
Gen. John
F. Reynolds*

officers in full uniform, and members of the Military Order of the Loyal Legion of the United States. President Wallace received the picture in a few well chosen words, and then introduced Brevet Brigadier General J. William Hoffman, who had commanded the regiment in Reynolds' corps occupying the extreme right of the advance which opened the battle of Gettysburg. He was followed by Colonel Chapman Biddle, commander of a brigade in Reynolds' corps during the battle, who gave a vivid account of the movements of the opposing armies preceding the battle, and of the first day's fight in which Reynolds was killed. Rear Admiral Emmons paid tribute to the memory of the testator, a brother naval officer, the donor of the picture. Then, stirred by the occasion, Curtin, the war governor of Pennsylvania, Hartranft, the soldier of Petersburg and later a governor—a man of singular distinction in personal appearance—and Hoyt, the then governor, roused the feelings of the excited audience to the highest pitch. Captain William Brooke Rawle, who had as a daring youth participated in Gregg's cavalry battle against Early which successfully protected the rear of the Army of the Potomac at the very time of Pickett's memorable charge, then rose, and, as Secretary of this Society, read a letter from Major General Winfield Scott Hancock, extolling Reynolds and giving some personal recollections.*

The visitors to the capitol at Harrisburg of this and coming generations may see the commanding figures of Meade, the victor, and of Hancock, the commander of the Second Corps, on the crest of Cemetery Ridge, at the very acme and pitch of the struggle over the stone wall in the Bloody Angle as depicted upon canvas by the genius of Peter F. Rothermel, but they cannot enjoy the thrill experienced by the present writer of seeing and hearing men who had personally shared the dangers and the glory of Gettysburg.

*Report of
Council for
1880*

The report of Council in May, 1880, is one of enthusiasm, and justly so. The genealogical department—to which more frequent reference was then made than to any other in the library—had acquired *The Taylor Family*, presented by a member of the House of Commons, a work of which but one

* *Miscellaneous Publications of Hist. Soc. of Pa.*, III.

hundred copies had been printed at a cost of \$500 per copy; also *The Whitney Family*, the gift of Stephen Whitney Phoenix of New York, a magnificent work in three quarto volumes, with a total of 2740 pages, and "without question the finest work of the kind ever issued from the press on this side of the Atlantic"; and also *A Genealogy of the Family of Mr. Samuel Stebbins and Mrs. Hannah Stebbins*, enjoying the distinction of being the first genealogy printed in America (1771), purchased from the library of the late George Brinley.

*The Brinley
Acquisitions*

George Brinley of Hartford, Connecticut, was one of the first and most discriminating collectors of early Americana. His name is held in grateful remembrance by librarians and bibliophiles to this day. In his life time he decided that his American library should be sold at auction, and that certain favorite institutions and societies should be given the opportunity of obtaining at the sale, free of cost, such of his books as they should respectively select for their libraries, to the value, in the aggregate, of \$25,000. His intention was not executed in his life time, nor was it expressed in his will. His widow's purpose to ratify it by a formal bequest was defeated by her decease intestate, but their children, with rare and timely generosity, united in carrying their parent's wishes into effect. The officers of this Society were notified that the credit at their disposal was the sum of \$2,000 and that they were privileged to bid off at successive sales such fractional sums as their judgment determined, until the credit was exhausted.* The first sale consisted of items relating chiefly to New England, and but \$300 was used. With a credit of \$1700 our officers were sanguine of obtaining some coveted items at the second sale. The catalogue, however, disclosed that the collection was so rich in works relating to the middle colonies, that unless additional means were secured, the Society would lose an opportunity of obtaining a number of rare and much desired works which it was hardly possible would again be offered for years to come, if at all. That aid was secured. The president, the trustees of the Gilpin Library, Brinton Coxe, Esq., Mr. George W. Childs, Mr. William G. Thomas, Mr.

*The Liber-
ality of the
Brinley
Heirs*

*The First
Sale*

*The Second
Sale*

*Aid
Extended
by our
Members*

* See *post*, for Mr. Coxe's share in this work. Sketch of Mr. Coxe, Volume II, Chapter I.

Charles R. Hildeburn, and others, setting an example, worthily and frequently followed in later years, made it possible to secure a collection of books that could not be equalled except by years of indefatigable research and at great expense.

The Treasures Acquired Keimer and Franklin Items Among the treasures thus acquired were twenty-five books printed by William Bradford, the first printer of the middle colonies; four by Renier Jansen, the second printer in Philadelphia; three by Samuel Keimer, with whom Franklin worked soon after he came to Philadelphia; and one by David Harry, an apprentice of Keimer, and Franklin's fellow workman. Among the prizes were: the Bradford and Jansen items, embodying nearly all that was then known of the celebrated Keithian controversy, and the little books preserving the controversy between Francis Rawle and James Logan, on political-economic questions, reviewed in a preceding chapter.*

The greatest of all the acquisitions was the first two volumes of *The Pennsylvania Gazette*, described in the Brinley catalogue as follows:

Such a series of Keimer's and Franklin's first newspapers is of SUPERLATIVE RARITY. The first volume contains Keimer's "Advertisement," dated October 1, 1728 (a half sheet), and "there is design'd to be publish'd the Latter End of *November* next, a most useful Paper of Intelligence, Entitled, *The Pennsylvania Gazette, or the Universal Instructor*," etc. In the last number in the volume (No. 39), he gives his valedictory, announcing that "he has agreed with *B. Franklin* and *H. Meredith*, at the New Printing Office, to continue the *Gazette* to the End of the Year, having transfer'd the Property wholly to them [*D. Hurry* declining it];" and that "the said S. K. designs to leave this Province very early in the Spring," etc. No. 40 contains the Salutory of the new publishers.†

* *Ante*, Chapter VI.

† A complete list of the Brinley books acquired at that time by this Society appears upon pages vi and vii of the report of the Council, May, 1880.

Further notable acquisitions were a large collection in manuscript of Franklin papers, donated by Miss Mary D. Fox; a volume of Penn papers, donated by Saunders Coates; the Muhlenberg papers, donated by the grandson of H. A. Muhlenberg; the Langdon papers, presented by Dr. Elwyn; a supplementary volume of Shippen papers from Joseph C. G. Kennedy and the Henry and Bethlehem papers, given by John Jordan, Jr. About the same time much was done to complete the files of newspapers printed in Philadelphia during the eighteenth century, due to "the indefatigable exertions of Mr. Charles R. Hildeburn, who has not only supplied many of the deficiencies himself, but has secured others by exchange and purchase, and has collated for binding the volumes that are sufficiently complete." *

Other Acquisitions

The Zeal of Charles R. Hildeburn

The vestry of Christ Church presented the copy of *The Book of Common Prayer*, printed by William Bradford in 1710, which enabled us to supply what was wanting in the copy presented by John Jordan, Jr.† The Society also acquired through the generosity of Mr. Ferdinand J. Dreer, Mr. George W. Childs, Mr. Samuel Chew, Mr. Evan Randolph, Dr. Wm. A. Irvine, and John William Wallace, Esq., a map drawn by Colonel Lewis Nicola of the lines of defence erected around Philadelphia by the British army under Sir William Howe in 1777-78, and one by a French officer showing the movements of the British army under Sir William in his vain attempt to capture the Marquis de Lafayette and the troops under his command at Barren Hill.

The Bradford "Book of Common Prayer"

Nicola's Map of British Defences of Philadelphia

British Plan at Barren Hill

In the museum, to the portrait of Queen Christina‡ was added the beautiful portraits of Gustavus Adolphus and Count Oxenstierna, donated by the liberality of the Hon. Olof Wijk, of Gothenburg, Vice-President of the Second Chamber of the

Miscellaneous Publications of the Hist. Soc. of Pa., IV preceding the last paper bound up.

* Report of Council, May, 1880, *ut supra*.

† The details have been given in Chapter XXIV, p. 348.

‡ The proceedings attending the presentation of the portrait of the queen were published in the *Penna. Mag. of Hist. & Biog.*, I, 149, *et seq.*

Our Swedish Portraits Diet of Sweden, through Mr. Richard S. Smith.* This striking trio of portraits, together with a deed for lands on the Delaware within the limits of Philadelphia, signed by Queen Christina, were of singular interest upon the recent occasion of the visit of their Royal Highnesses, the Crown Prince and Princess of Sweden to the Hall of the Society.†

The next three years, 1881-1883, were rich in results. Additional Jansen, Keimer, and Franklin imprints were secured. Among them were *Proteus Ecclesiasticus* (Jansen, 1700); Logan's reply to Rawle, 1725 (Keimer); *Some Remedies Proposed for the Restoring the Sunk Credit of the Province of Pennsylvania*, 1721; *Remarks on Zenger's Tryal*, 1737; Franklin's *Account of the New Invented Pennsylvanian Fire-Places*, 1744. There were also a copy of Eliot's Indian Bible, printed at Cambridge in 1685, bought at the third Brinley sale; pamphlets from the library of John Dickinson, many of them bearing his autograph on the title page; pamphlets from the library of Isaac Norris, the Speaker; an Andrew Bradford imprint of the *Laws Of the Province of Pennsilvania*, 1714; a complete set of autograph letters of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, several of them being addressed to Washington; copies of the *Journals* of the Continental Congress in unusually fine condition, the issue for 1779 being in weekly numbers with separate titles, no other complete copy in this form having been reported at that time in any bibliography. From London, through Stevens, there was secured *The Frame of the Government of the Province of Pennsylvania*, London, 1682, from the library of William Penn, and a rare print of Penn's letter from Germantown in 1695. Then followed a file of *The London Gazette* from 1665 to 1689.

On December 27, 1882, the Society added substantially to its unrivalled collection of Penn papers by purchasing from Colonel Stewart Forbes, administrator in England of the estate of Thomas Gordon Penn, deceased, the Forbes' collection of Penn manuscripts. They were, upon their receipt, repaired,

* Minutes of the Society, December 15, 1879.

† June 2, 1926.

mounted, arranged and bound under the supervision of Librarian Stone, in three most imposing folio volumes. The first volume consisted of the journals of Admiral Sir William Penn of service in the Irish fleet from October 12, 1644, to September 17, 1647, containing 184 pages in autograph. The second and third volumes contain letters of Sir Wm. Penn with replies, sailing instructions during the first Dutch war in 1653, and an inventory of his goods and chattels; important public documents issued by William Penn, the Founder of Pennsylvania; letters of the Founder; family letters; an extensive correspondence with Hannah Callowhill, afterwards his wife; letters of Hannah Penn to her sons; letters to Hannah Penn; letters addressed to William Penn by many distinguished correspondents, inclusive of George Fox, Robert Barclay, Lord Baltimore, the Duke of Buckingham, Lord Clarendon, the Earl of Monmouth, the Marquis of Normandy, and the Lord Chancellor.*

Then came a solid mass of Pennsylvania German publications, secured by the trustees of the Gilpin Library, consisting of the unique collection by Abraham H. Cassel of Harleysville, Montgomery County, Pa. Mr. Cassel, a descendant of Christopher Saur—the printer in Germantown, who flourished with his sons from 1739 to 1778—had gathered not only most of the works printed by his ancestors, but also many printed in Pennsylvania by others in the German language, but few of which were known at that time to American bibliographers. There were about 1,000 titles, almost covering the literature of the Germans of Pennsylvania during the eighteenth century, inclusive of the only known sets of the newspaper and of the almanacs published by the Saur family for forty years. There was also a copy of each of their editions of the Bible, the first printed in America in a foreign tongue. There were also many items from the Seventh Day Baptist press at Ephrata, Pa.

*The Cassel
Collection of
Pennsyl-
vania-Ger-
man Pub-
lications*

* The love letters of William Penn are printed in *Penna. Mag. of Hist. & Biog.*, XXVII, 296. The reader will find a complete list of this notable acquisition printed in *Penna. Mag. of Hist. & Biog.*, XXXVIII, 155-168. On the Penn papers, generally, see *ante*, Chapter XXVII.

The incoming tides, laden with treasure, then ran into new channels. The widow of Colonel Samuel B. Wylie Mitchell, M.D., presented one hundred volumes on heraldry, handsomely bound, inclusive of Anderson's *Royal Genealogies*, a work of such rarity that but few libraries possess it. Mr. James L. Claghorn, joined by Mr. Anthony J. Drexel, Mr. George W. Childs, and others, presented ten cork models, exquisitely fashioned by Lloyd Hoppin of Philadelphia, of old landmarks of Philadelphia: the State House; the Letitia Penn house; the Slate Roof house; the Morris mansion, occupied by Washington as President; the Loxley house; the old Court House at Front and Market Streets; the Old Swedes' Church, Gloria Dei; Walnut Grove; the Wharton mansion; the Friends' Meeting House on Arch Street.

Four oil paintings from the brush of Isaac L. Williams were given to the Society. They depicted "The Old Swedes' Church" at Wilmington, Delaware; "The Woodlands," the home of William Hamilton; "Pemberton's Plantation"; "The Quaker Alms House," in grounds on Walnut Street above Third, established in 1729, and removed, alas, in 1876. Well can the writer recall the quaint simplicity of the eight small, low buildings, of cottage structure, and the beauty of the gardens redolent of boxwood and the yellow jasmine. The Wertmüller portrait of Washington, painted from life, was presented by 18 members; the portrait of Washington at Valley Forge from life, by Charles Willson Peale, by 25 members; the desk brought by William Bradford in the *Welcome* by a descendant. To close an inexhaustible list there was a baluster from the stairway of John Milton's London house, which had been given by Jeremy Bentham to Richard Rush while he was American minister to Great Britain, presented by Benjamin Rush, that it "might be seen for all time by men who venerate the name of one of England's greatest poets."

Necrological notices of officers and members of the Society, dying during the term of Mr. Wallace, were printed in the *Magazine*, or fully entered on the minutes.*

* *Rev. William Morton Reynolds*, author of "The Swedish Church in America," *Penna. Mag. of Hist. & Biog.*, I, 107.

William C. Reichel, editor of *Acrelius*, *Ibid.*, I, 104.

The two hundredth anniversary of the arrival of William Penn in Pennsylvania was celebrated by the Society on November 8, 1882, by a dinner in the foyer of the Academy of Music at which one hundred and forty-one members and friends of the Society were present. Mr. Wallace presided with his usual felicity of speech and grace of manner. Eloquent speeches were made, and a letter commemorative of Penn and his labors for humanity,* addressed to the Society by the poet-laureate of England, Alfred Tennyson, was read.

*Dinner of
the Society*

The last notable achievement of the Wallace administration was the purchase of the "Patterson Mansion," once standing on the site of the present new Hall of the Society. There were several urgent reasons for the removal from the Picture House.† The ten year lease, so generously granted by the Pennsylvania Hospital at a purely nominal rent, was about to expire. The hospital needed the property for its own enlargement. The building, except a small vault, was not fireproof. The library and the collections demanded far greater space. The opportunity to purchase the mansion, so long occupied by the late General Robert Patterson of Mexican War fame, was too advantageous to be neglected. The site at Thirteenth and

*The Purchase of the
Patterson
Mansion*

Joseph Carson, councillor of Society, 1858–1876. Entered on minutes, January 8, 1877.

George Washington Smith, a founder of the Society. Entered on minutes, May 15, 1876.

Stephen Taylor, benefactor of the publication fund, *Penna. Mag. of Hist. & Biog.*, II, 95.

John McAllister, Jr., member of Society since March, 1828, dying as our oldest member, in his 91st year, *Ibid.*, II, 92.

Joseph J. Mickley, member of Society, *Ibid.*, II, 457.

Peter McCall, member of the Society. Entered on minutes, November 8, 1880.

Chapman Biddle, member of the Society. Entered on minutes, March 13, 1882.

Daniel B. Smith, member of the Society. Entered on minutes, May 7, 1883.

George Smith, M.D., historian of Delaware County, Pa. Entered on minutes, May 7, 1883.

* The proceedings and speeches in full will be found in *Penna. Mag. of Hist. & Biog.*, VI, 435.

† The removal to the Picture House has been considered in Chapter XXV of this volume, pp. 355–356.

Locust Streets was central, the neighborhood attractive, and the large mansion readily adapted to the uses of the Society.* The offer first made was for ninety-six feet on Locust Street and one hundred and twenty on Thirteenth Street. The price asked was fifty thousand dollars, and so favorably was the proposition received, and so promptly were the replies made to the appeal of the Society, that the Council felt justified in asking the refusal of an additional lot of twenty-nine feet on Locust Street, so as to secure ample space for the future, and an abundance of light and air. The purchase was made of a lot, 120 feet by 125 feet, including the mansion, for \$62,500 in cash, promptly and zealously subscribed by three hundred and thirty-three members. In October, 1883, the title passed and in November the removal, occupying two months, began.†

Death of
Mr.
Wallace

Mr. Wallace did not live to preside in the new home of the Society. He died on January 12, 1884, in the 69th year of his age. He had served as President of the Society from April 13, 1868, a period little less than sixteen years. The resolutions adopted by the Society describe him as "an enthusiast in the cause of learning, of attainments as profound as they were varied"; as "a gentleman of active and vigorous intellect, of the most extended culture, . . . with a proper pride in the achievements of the People of Pennsylvania, and to his cultivated judgment, earnest efforts and generous contributions much of the development and prosperous growth of the Society is due"; as a gentleman of many virtues, of unusual learning, of gentleness of heart, as "a Presiding Officer, dignified yet firm," as "a Student of history, as a lawyer of prominence, as a *belles lettres* scholar, we have never had his superior." An admirable commemorative address was delivered by Henry Flanders, Esq., in the Hall of the Society on the evening of November 10, 1884.‡

Resolutions
of the
Society

* A portrait of General Robert Patterson, by Albert Rosenthal, was presented to the Society by William H. Patterson, son of General Patterson.

† *Penna. Mag. of Hist. & Biog.*, VI, v-vi.

‡ *Penna. Mag. of Hist. & Biog.*, VIII, xiii-xciv. The present writer has incorporated the salient features of this address and of the resolutions spread upon the minutes in the sketch of Mr. Wallace in Chapter XXIV.

In describing the Society, while presenting a bust of General George Gordon Meade, by the sculptor, Joseph A. Bailey, Benjamin Harris Brewster, Esq., used these words: "The Society has become a public landmark, perpetuating the glories of the past and recording the triumphs of the present. . . . An important organ of personal culture, public morals, civil order and patriotic sentiment. . . . An institution of the Commonwealth and of Philadelphia, beyond the reach of necessity or the fear of destruction from adversity, by liberal bounty placed on the footing of lasting life." The administration of Mr. Wallace had fully earned and justified these words.

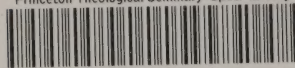
*Brewster's
Tribute to
the Society*

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A history of the Historical society of
Princeton Theological Seminary-Speer Library



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